

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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THE GREEDY BHYOY!



[With apologies to Peters' Swiss Milk Chocolate.]

MASTER REDMOND.—"THERE ARE MOMENTS WHEN ONE WANTS TO BE ALONE."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Who will be the next Home Secretary? This is a question of immediate interest, because Mr. McKenna as Home Secretary is impossible. Already two Home Secretaries, Lord Gladstone and Mr. Churchill, have covered themselves with disgrace by their treatment of Suffragist prisoners, and have had to quit the Home Office. Mr. McKenna has beaten even their bad record, and he too must go. His ineptitude and cruelty equal theirs, and he has shown less honour and worse faith. His arbitrary withdrawal of the special privileges conceded by the Churchill rule cannot be too strongly condemned. A rule is not a rule if it is broken without rhyme or reason at the caprice of unscrupulous Ministers. The

special privileges were not, it should be remembered, a free gift tendered to Suffragist prisoners out of the goodness of Mr. Churchill's heart. Their withdrawal might in that case have been less reprehensible. They were a concession won by the stern fighting and heroic self-sacrifice of the Suffragist prisoners themselves. Miss Wallace Dunlop, Mrs. Leigh, Miss Charlotte Marsh, Miss Selina Martin and many others literally risked their lives for the sake of the principle involved. Starvation, and the greater torture of forcible feeding, were the price of the Churchill rule. And now these hardly-won privileges have been taken away.

Forcible Feeding.

What wonder that a hunger strike has been resorted to! The crowning infamy of Mr. McKenna's all-too-long career at the Home Office is that instead of re-establishing the rule that he has broken, he has ordered forcible feeding, undeterred by the remembrance of what occurred recently in the case of Mr. William Ball. The accounts we print elsewhere of the terrible experiences of Dr. Ede and others, who have been released from Aylesbury Prison, will stir our readers to wondering admiration at the courage of the prisoners, and deep anger with the Minister who is responsible for their suffering. We repeat that Mr. McKenna's tenure of the Home Secretaryship can be no longer tolerated.

Mr. Ball's Case.

The so-called "independent enquiry," promised by Mr. McKenna in the case of Mr. William Ball, has been conducted on the usual official lines. It will be remembered that Mr. Ball, a working-man Suffragist, was reduced to insanity after over five weeks' forcible feeding in Pentonville Gaol. Owing to the indignation in Parliament and among the public,

the Home Secretary was compelled to promise investigation by an "independent" member of the College of Physicians. Sir George Savage was appointed. Having made enquiries at Pentonville and Colney Hatch, and no doubt received the denials and assurances customary among officials, he saw Mr. Ball in the presence of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Mansell-Moullin. He put leading questions to him in such a form as to suggest the required answers. When it was pointed out how unsatisfactory this method was, he replied that some people were never satisfied, and he was only concerned in discovering whether the prison regulations had been legally followed or not. He remarked he was himself satisfied there had been no breach of rules, and no doubt that will be the upshot of his report. To judge by past experience, the Home Office will then commend the behaviour of the Pentonville officials, as they did after similar cases of brutality in Strangeways, and everything will be as clean as whitewash can make it, except that an English working man has been driven to insanity by prison torment.

The Home Rule Bill.

The Home Rule Bill, for reasons which are fully set forth in the leading article, will meet with the uncompromising opposition of the Women's Social and Political Union. It is stated that a private member's amendment will be proposed, with the object of securing that women shall vote for the proposed Irish Parliament, but all the evidence goes to show that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond intend to procure the defeat of that amendment. From the woman's point of view, the Bill, when compared with the Irish Councils Bill of 1907, is a painfully retrogressive measure. The Councils Bill, which was recommended to them as a step towards a Home Rule

Bill, was rejected by the Nationalists in Ireland as being inadequate. But it had at least the merit of giving equal rights to women. This may have been due to the influence of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, since whose time the Government have gone from bad to worse.

Points in the Speeches.

There are one or two points arising out of the first reading debate which call for attention here. We had Mr. Asquith saying, *à propos* of Ulster's resistance to Home Rule, that a minority could not and should not be permitted to override the wishes of the majority. Yet this is what he has persistently claimed that an Anti-Suffragist minority shall do, both in the Cabinet and elsewhere. He urged strongly that the affairs of a nation will never be treated "either with adequate time or with adequate knowledge and sympathy until you have the wisdom and courage to hand them over to the representatives whom alone they immediately affect." Surely in these words may be found a basis for the claim for the enfranchisement of women in general, and of Irishwomen in particular!

Liberal Democracy!

Again, Mr. Asquith's plea for the retention of forty Irish members at Westminster applies equally in justification of the demand for Woman Suffrage. Ireland (or rather Irishmen) must be retained at Westminster, says Mr. Asquith, because the Imperial Parliament will continue to tax the whole of the United Kingdom, Ireland included, and because the House of Commons and the Imperial Executive will be responsible for the administration of all the reserved services in which Ireland is vitally interested. Mr. Asquith's final reason for having Irish M.P.'s at Westminster is that:—

However far the devolution of local affairs to local bodies may be carried, the House of Commons must continue to be the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, fairly representing all its constituent parts and inviting the co-operation of each of them in the supervision of their common interests, the transaction of their common business, and the discharge of their joint and corporate trust to the Empire as a whole.

How very magnificently and how very democratically this is intended to ring in the ears of men! But very hollow does it sound to women, who see these democratic sentiments first mouthed and then betrayed by the Prime Minister!

Mr. Redmond's Intolerance.

Then spoke Mr. Redmond. How generous he was in his readiness to give safeguards to those of different faith! But he had nothing to say about giving the safeguard of the Vote to those of different sex. "We in Ireland," he said, "regard no insult so supreme as the insult that we as a nation are intolerant in matters of religion. So you can put in what safeguards you like." Apparently he is indifferent to the accusation of intolerance in matters of sex. That is, however, the accusation that we bring against him and his party, and it is one that we shall press home.

The Labour Party.

The Chairman of the Labour Party has also made his contribution to the debate. We do not find in his speech any reference to the vital question of women's political status under the Home Rule Bill, but we look forward to hearing shortly what the action of the Labour members in this regard will be. Since the Government's Parliamentary majority consists entirely of the votes of Nationalists and Labour members, the direct responsibility of both the Labour and Nationalist Parties for the policy of the Government is obvious.

Irishwomen's Policy.

In a letter which appears in another part of this issue Mrs. Cousins states the policy of the Irish Women's Franchise League, of which she is the honorary secretary. She declares the intention of her League to claim equal rights for women under the proposed measure of Home Rule. She further announces that a large deputation of women will attend the forthcoming National Convention in Dublin, in order to submit this claim for equal franchise rights to the delegates there assembled, and she invites Irishwomen living in England to join this deputation, in order that it may be as large and representative as possible. It is an invitation which we have no doubt will be accepted by many Irishwomen who are at present feeling the keenest anxiety as to the political status to be accorded to their countrywomen under the Home Rule Bill.

Support from Men.

We are glad to be able to record that the Irishwomen's demand for justice is meeting with strong support from at least two of the most active and prominent men in the Home Rule movement. Professor Oldham, whose statements on the subject we published in a recent issue, has protested strongly against Mr. Redmond's policy of wrecking Woman Suffrage. He refused, because of that policy, to be one of the speakers at the Home Rule demonstration lately held in Dublin, saying:—"As an Irishman, I am shamed by the thought that our movement for Irish liberty has been stained by this foul blow against human freedom. I do not know how I am to go through the humiliating farce of speaking in defence of Irish rights when my conscience is guilty

of the knowledge that my national leader, acting on my behalf, has done this shameful deed." Another protest comes from Professor Kettle, who condemns Mr. Redmond's action as bad tactics, and states that he will bring before the National Convention the proposal that votes for Irishwomen shall be demanded as part of the Home Rule Bill.

Unionist Sedition.

We give elsewhere extracts from speeches by Unionist leaders and from editorial pronouncements in the Unionist Press. These seditious utterances are allowed by the Government to pass completely unnoticed, although such language, if used by Suffragists, would at once result in a criminal prosecution. The Government's excuse for ignoring Unionist illegalities is that their words are "mere bombast"; but how do they reconcile this contention with the statement which appears in a leading Unionist journal that:—

There is a strong demand for the supply of miniature rifles and for ranges where the men may learn to shoot. One range has been taken and others will be. It is a fact of which I have abundant evidence that since Mr. Churchill's meeting pistols and revolvers have been bought in great quantity. Out of a body of twelve men told off for a particular duty, albeit peaceful duty, it was discovered that seven were in possession of firearms and ammunition.

The fact is that, as we have said before, the Government are at once too cowardly and too snobbish to deal with Mr. Bonar Law, Sir Edward Carson, and the editor of the *Times* as they dealt with the leaders of the W.S.P.U. by ordering their arrest and trial upon a criminal charge.

In Tumultuous Times.

So much righteous wrath has been expended over the damage to property caused by recent Suffragist outbreaks that it is diverting to find the injured shop-owners joining hands with a Plate Glass Insurance Company in a very pretty little scheme of mutual admiration and advertisement. What would probably be described by both as an "attractive booklet" has come into our possession, the purpose of which is to demonstrate, in connection with "the Suffragette Riots which took place in March, 1912," the efficiency of the Company in replacing windows broken "in Civil Commotion and Riots," or from other causes, and its desire to secure fresh clients on the ground that, having once taken a risk, it does not reserve a right to cancel the policy. This, adds the circular, is a vital feature, "especially in tumultuous times." We have always maintained that the recent window-breaking involved little loss to the owners of property. This circular, with its ostentatiously signed testimonials from many leading firms, proves that the militant outbreak has even been a source of profit and gratuitous advertisement to those who depend for success upon advertisement. Yet more than 200 women have been penalised by unjust and heavy sentences in order to appease a wealthy body of citizens who have profited handsomely by the deeds they hypocritically deplore.

The Teachers' Conference.

Once more the men teachers, demoralised by the pampering and favouritism accorded to them by the authorities, have defeated a Woman Suffrage resolution. Perhaps nothing better could be expected of men who so calmly pocket a monetary reward for being men. They know perfectly well that, their qualification and their work being in no way superior to the work of women teachers, they are not entitled to receive a higher salary. Yet, trade unionists though they be, they make no attempt to raise the salaries of the women to the same level as their own. They are, we understand, actually opposed to the idea. Small wonder, then, that they object to Woman Suffrage, for that also would go towards destroying their artificial and unmerited pre-eminence. We have no doubt that the women teachers will know how to deal with the situation. So numerous are they that if they asserted themselves they would have the Teachers' Union, the Education Committees, and the elementary schools at their mercy. The decision of the Teachers' Conference is more nicely calculated than anything else could be to arouse this powerful band of women workers to action in defence of their rights. Like others of their sex, they will one day rise up as a body against political and economic injustice.

Votes for Women in Sweden.

The Bill for the enfranchisement of Swedish women which was introduced on April 3, seems to stand a fair chance of being passed in the Lower House. The real struggle will come later in the Upper House, where a hostile majority, placed by close observers at eleven, is said to exist. All British militant Suffragists will echo the hope expressed in an unsigned contribution to a contemporary on the subject, that Swedish women will win their freedom without being driven to militant action; though we venture to suggest to the writer of this article, who has not wholly grasped the state of affairs in this country, that if this happy result crowns the Suffrage movement in Sweden, it will be because their men are more statesmanlike than English politicians have shown themselves to be, and not because their women know better than ours how to wait and to work, and, if need be, to suffer in a great cause.

East and West.

In Japan the battle between reaction and progress rages upon the question not of veils or of votes but upon the question of whether women shall attend public meetings. The Japanese counterparts of Mr. Asquith declare that for women to attend public meetings would be destructive of female charm and incompatible with domesticity. In this country the privilege of attending meetings was freely accorded to us even by the Anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet,

until we began to demand that something should there be said about our right to vote. The present uprising of the oppressed women of the East is a most inspiring and thrilling event in world history. It is easy to imagine what heart and hope the work of the W.S.P.U. has put into these Eastern women. For their sake, if not for our own, the struggle is worth while. Our fight and our victory will be to them a sign that they, too, can become free.

Do Women Want Votes?

Mr. Asquith has denied that there is a demand for Votes for Women. We have asked him what he will accept as evidence of its existence. He declines to give a direct reply to this question. But as he has just been arguing in the House of Commons that Ireland demands Home Rule, we have sought the enlightenment we need in the report of his speech on the Home Rule Bill. But, alas, we have found cold comfort! These are Mr. Asquith's words:—

As Mr. Gladstone pointed out, it was not until the General Election of 1885 that the democracy of Ireland was able to give effective utterance to its view as to the way in which it should be governed. From the first moment that the Irish people were granted an articulate political voice, they pronounced by a majority of four to one of its representatives in favour of Home Rule. Thus we see that unless you have a vote you cannot prove that you want a vote. As Mr. Asquith says, it is not until the democracy (male or female, as the case may be) has a vote, that it can give effective utterance to its views as to the way in which it shall be governed. It is only through the Vote that the vote can be obtained—unless another weapon be made to serve as a substitute. History tells us that the substitute employed by men was militancy. "Constitutional" methods they found futile simply because they had not the constitutional weapon of the Vote.

Public Meetings No Argument.

That public meetings and methods of that kind are ineffectual to secure the franchise or other great changes is confessed by the *Daily News*, which in a leading article says:

The meeting at Belfast was, doubtless, a goodly gathering, but there was nothing to take it out of the ruck of such things. It "demonstrated" that Orangemen disliked Home Rule, a fact which the poll-books teach with at least equal force and very much greater precision. Still, the gathering of men is a citizen's privilege which none can cavil at so long as it is not elevated into an argument. *So long as it is not elevated into an argument!* These words should prove instructive to those who think that if enough meetings are held, the result may some day be Votes for Women. The innumerable public meetings held in favour of Woman Suffrage must not, we are told, be used (and evidently the Government do not accept them as such) as an argument for the reform in question.

More Anti-Suffrage Methods.

Mrs. Humphry Ward, in the course of a letter to the *Times*, makes the amazing suggestion that women teachers who are Suffragists shall be refused appointments to posts in girls' schools and colleges. The great majority of educated women of the present generation want the Vote, hence Mrs. Humphry Ward's complaint of "the almost exclusive staffing of our higher schools and colleges for girls, at the present moment, by women holding Suffragist opinions." Says Mrs. Ward:—

It ought not to be; and young and impressionable girls ought to be no more introduced prematurely to the radical and disturbing questions which are now seen to underlie the suffragist movement, through devotion to their teachers, than to any other matters of acute political or social controversy. A serious attempt on our side, by liberal and legitimate methods, to redress the balance would, I think, meet with much support.

What Mrs. Ward really means is that women are to be penalised and robbed of their right to earn their bread because they hold political opinions and views as to the place and destiny of women which differ from her own. Such methods call for a very much uglier description than that of "liberal and legitimate." Mrs. Ward is in fact giving a hint to the Anti-Suffragist fossils of either sex who may still lurk on committees and boards to boycott Suffragist teachers, and thus attempt to starve them into recanting their convictions.

Fanatische Treuekeit!

The seven league boots of Miss Christabel Pankhurst have been given no rest this week. They have raced her from London to Swanage, from York to New York, from Twickenham to South Germany. She has been sometimes a hospital nurse, sometimes a schoolgirl with the shining morning face we know so well, and always, always, Miss Christabel Pankhurst! Scotland Yard, we are told, has given up the pursuit. Yet it is only a few days since six detectives tracked her to a delightful old country house on the river, which they surrounded and searched, while she mocked them from her Bavarian boarding-school in the words of Ollendorff—"Have you the English Suffragette found? No, but we have her *entzückendes* hat and her never-to-be-forgotten green scarf in our already crowded note-books carefully described." In far Berlin, the Kaiser is reported to have been heard muttering—"Fanatische Treuekeit!"

As we go to press we understand that Mr. McKenna has stated in the House of Commons that Rule 24a will be applied to all Suffragists now in prison, though "modified in one or two particulars." Not being in possession of full details, we reserve our comments until next week. We must, however, repeat what we have often said in these columns, that the demand of the Suffragist prisoners is for the full rights of political offenders as these are understood in all civilised countries except our own. Mrs. Pankhurst, for instance, was asked to write an article for an Austrian newspaper while in prison, and the astonishment created over there by the refusal of the English Government to grant her the use of writing materials was a sorry reflection upon the practice of Great Britain in dealing with political prisoners.

WHO KILLED THE CONCILIATION BILL?

A letter appearing in the *Leicester Post* from the pen of Mr. Crawshay Williams, M.P., disposes finally of the myth that the Women's Social and Political Union killed the Conciliation Bill.

It will be remembered that Mr. Crawshay Williams, in company with Sir William Byles, signed the round robin to Suffragist M.P.'s asking them to vote against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill to mark their disapproval of militancy. In the end about ten Liberal Suffragists "ratted," including Mr. Crawshay Williams himself and Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, and voted against the Bill, and a score or more of others abstained. Tackled with this action in the columns of the *Leicester Post* by Miss Dorothy Pethick, the W.S.P.U. organiser, Mr. Williams says, in the course of his reply:—

If the Conciliation Bill had passed the second reading, those who imagined therefrom that it stood a chance of passage into law would have been rudely disillusioned later. There were plenty of members in the Aye Lobby who, if they did not actually greet the Bill's defeat with outward manifestation of joy, received it with inward satisfaction (often expressed afterwards). Everyone, indeed, knew that it was doomed from the first; that time spent on its discussion would be time thrown away, and that all such efforts to reconcile irreconcilable schools of thought, and to inveigle members into the same lobby on different pretences, would only result in failure.

In other words, the statement of the W.S.P.U. leaders last November, and again in January of the present year, that the Conciliation Bill was a broken reed were absolutely correct. "It was doomed from

the first," in the words of Mr. Crawshay Williams; and all that was done in March was to put it out of its misery and to save it from a lingering death.

So far we have referred to Mr. Crawshay Williams merely as one of the signatories of the letter (the only genuine signatory, we might almost have said, as Sir William Byles failed in the end even to keep his pledge that he would break his pledge); but the real significance of his position lies in the fact that he is the private secretary of Mr. Lloyd George. Now, private secretaries do not go about organising political manoeuvres contrary to the wishes of their chiefs. On the contrary, both in their wire-pulling and in their votes they are accustomed to carry out the views which they know their chiefs to hold. Can anyone, then, still doubt that the Conciliation Bill was killed by Mr. Lloyd George?

Here are the facts. In 1910, and again in 1911, the Bill would have been proceeded with but for the avowed opposition of Mr. Lloyd George. When the pledge of facilities was given for 1912 Mr. Lloyd George tried to whittle it away. In November he invented the Reform Bill dodge, which, in his own expressive language, "torpedoed the Conciliation Bill." In March his private secretary organises a successful campaign against the second reading, and though Mr. Lloyd George himself votes for it we find his private secretary, Mr. Williams, and his faithful henchman, Mr. Masterman, voting against it. Truly the ways of politicians are tortuous, but they can be tracked down by those who know the law of the political jungle!

A COMPARISON.

What Liberal Statesmen Have Said.

"It is never palatable for men in power to be confronted with their aims in opposition."—Morley's "Life of Cromwell."

WHEN IN OPPOSITION.

Lord Morley in 1889:

Speaking in the House of Commons of Mr. O'Brien's resistance to the attempt to force upon him the prison treatment of a common criminal, Lord Morley, then Mr. John Morley, said, on February 28, 1889:—

"What is the meaning then of Mr. O'Brien's resistance? . . . It is a repudiation by the only means, so far as I know, in his power that the offence for which he has been punished was on the same level with, or of the same complexion as, many of the vile, selfish, and brutal offences of common ordinary criminals. . . . You are going the right way about manufacturing rebels in the future by all this veracious, unworthy, unmanly treatment."

WHEN IN POWER.

Mr. McKenna in 1912:

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on March 15, asking if the horrors of forcible feeding could not be avoided, Mr. McKenna said lightly:—

Oh, yes. The prisoners have only got to consent to take their food in the usual way.

In answer to further questions, suggesting the political meaning of the hunger strike, the Home Secretary said:—

It would be very difficult to enter into the minds of these women . . . As far as I interpret their action, I considered they were guilty of moral turpitude.

Mr. Asquith in 1889:

Speaking at Birmingham on the same subject, i.e., the treatment of the Irish rebels in prison. Mr. Asquith said on Feb. 11, 1889, that:—"They had not met to express sympathy with crime or to demand lenient or indulgent treatment, but they had assembled for the purpose of denouncing the treatment of political and industrial agitators on the same footing as an ordinary criminal . . . He would rather find himself face to face with the brutal despotism of Russia than see the present prostitution of constitutional forms which, at one and the same time, was dishonest, ineffectual, and demoralising."

Mr. Asquith in 1912:

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on March 4, in which Mr. Asquith was asked if the responsibility for the recent suffragist disturbances could not be brought home to the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, the Prime Minister referred in the following terms to the "political agitators" of 1912:—

I am quite sure the hon. member gave utterance to a very wide-spread opinion when he indicated that these disgraceful proceedings ought to be brought home, not merely to the wretched individuals who are immediately concerned, but to those who are responsible, I am entirely with him in that view.

Sir William Harcourt, in 1889,

speaking on the treatment of Irish political prisoners:—

"The truth is that the Irish Removable Magistrates are very much like the collie dogs of Scotland; they do not want any particular word said to them, they know the eye of the master; they know very well what particular sheep to bring up. That is the reason why this harsh and brutal treatment, condemned at first by the common sense of the magistracy, was introduced."

Mr. McKenna in 1912:

In answer to a question in the House of Commons on March 18, concerning the long sentences with hard labour given to Suffragists, Mr. McKenna said:—

"The sentences to be passed on a convicted offender is entirely a matter for the discretion of the Court within the limits of the Statute under which the conviction takes place. I have no reason to doubt that, in the cases referred to, discretion had been exercised properly and with due regard to all the circumstances of the individual case."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our Readers, especially members of the W.S.P.U., are again reminded that all communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should, in the absence of Mrs. Tuke, be addressed to Miss Kerr, Secretary (pro tem.), W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All enquiries with regard to prisoners should be sent to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. The Prison Authorities will only give information with regard to dates on which prisoners are due for release to their relatives. We should be glad if relatives would forward this information when received to the Prisoners' Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn.

An Historic Occasion.

Do not fail to secure tickets for the interesting reception to the Leaders of the W.S.P.U., to be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, W.C., on Saturday, April 20, at 8.30. The tickets will be 2s. 6d., in order to bring the price of admission within the means of all our members. As this will not by any means cover the expenses in connection with the Reception, a collection will be taken at the doors, to which it is hoped that friends will contribute. Hostesses: The Lady Constance Lytton, The Lady Sybil Smith, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Mansel, Mrs. Mansell-Moullin. The members of the Ladies' Eolian Orchestra have kindly consented to play during the evening. All who intend to be present and have not yet obtained their tickets are urgently asked to make their applications to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn, at once, so that final arrangements may be made with the caterers. All tickets must be obtained beforehand.

Albert Hall Meeting.

A meeting will be held in the Royal Albert Hall on Saturday, June 15. The prices of the tickets are as follows: Amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; balcony, first four rows, 1s., remainder 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d., all numbered and reserved. Boxes, to hold ten, 30s.; eight, 21s.; five, 12s. 6d. The 2s. area and the lower orchestra seats are sold out.

Applications for tickets should be made to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn.

Weekly At Homes.

The speakers at the meeting on Monday, April 21, at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, 3.15 p.m., will be Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Evelyn Sharp, the Rev. F. M. Green. Mrs. Pertwee and Miss Douglas Smith will speak at the Steinway Hall on Thursday, April 25, 8 p.m.

THIS WEEK'S PAPER.

We would like to draw special attention to the able article in this week's issue on the political treatment of prisoners, by the well-known authority, Professor Sigerson, M.D., who sat on the famous Prison Commission of 1884. Other points of interest will be found in the simple and graphic stories of the women who were released from Aylesbury Prison last week, in the leading article, which gives the attitude of the Women's Social and Political Union towards the Home Rule Bill, and in the account we give of the Irishwomen's defiance of the Nationalist Party.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

March 26 to March 27.

Miss Currie	0 5 0
Dr. Filshill	0 10 0
Miss Cooper	2 0 0
A Friend	0 1 0
Mrs. Henderson	1 0 0
Mrs. Christie	1 2 6
A Friend	0 6 0
Mrs. J. A. Russell	5 0 0
Miss Taylor	5 0 0
Miss C. J. Thomson	0 1 0
Miss M. M. Thomson	0 2 6
Mr. David Murray	0 1 0
Miss White (post)	0 1 0
Sale of marmalade and cakes	0 5 5
Transferred subs.	1 12 6
In Luck Cake	0 0 6
Jumble Sale	2 4 0
A Member	0 1 0
Miss A. S. Walton	0 1 0
Profit on Library	0 8 0
Profit on Books	0 4 0
Miss M. Burn Mus- doch	0 4 0
Per Miss Duff—	19 0 0
Miss R. Bell	0 3 0
Profit on "V.I.W."	0 5 2
Jumble Sale	0 1 1
A Member	0 1 0
Miss A. S. Walton	0 1 0
Per Miss Monet—	0 0 0
Jumble Sale	0 0 0
Per Miss F. Parker—	0 0 0
Profit on Literature	0 0 0
Telephone call	0 0 0
Profit on Tea	0 1 4
"For the Cause"	0 2 6
Mrs. Gow	0 0 0
Mrs. Gifford	0 2 0
Mrs. McKay	0 0 0
Mrs. Lang	0 2 6
Mrs. Monteith	0 1 0
Per Miss M. West—	0 0 0
Mrs. Harmer	0 0 0
Miss Collins	0 2 5
Miss Howlett	0 2 5
Mrs. Fletcher Dodd	0 2 5
Mrs. Haborde	0 2 0
Mrs. A. Brown	0 2 0
Mrs. Hull	0 2 5
Miss K. Guthrie	0 2 5
Mrs. A. Howlett	0 2 5
Mrs. Mottram	0 2 0
Mrs. Rogers	0 2 0
Mrs. Williams	0 3 5
Profit on Literature	0 0 0
Miss Statham	0 0 0
William Ball Fund.	0 5 0
Mrs. Eugenie Freeman	0 5 0
Per Miss F. Parker—	0 5 0
Miss Hannan	0 5 0
Self-Denial.	0 5 0
Mrs. J. M. Daukes	1 0 0
Miss Marian F. Daukes	1 0 0
Mrs. E. B. Brooke	0 1 0
Mrs. Clementine Hous- man	0 1 0
Miss Violet Burt	2 0 0
Miss Alice Allan, Esq. (per Miss A. J. Smith)	0 2 5
Mrs. G. Charles	0 1 0
Miss Millie Ingram	0 2 0
Mrs. R. E. Adam	0 2 0
Mrs. Marion Bartels	0 1 0
Mrs. Ada Cheshire	0 1 0
Miss Margaret Dunlop	0 2 0
Mrs. J. G. Bain	0 1 0
Mrs. E. H. Cheshire	0 1 0
Mrs. E. M. Barnett	0 1 0
Mrs. J. B. Barnett	0 1 0
Mary Kaynett	0 5 0
Mrs. Joan Edghill	0 2 5
Misses Harris	0 2 5
Miss E. Chuter	0 4 0
Miss L. M. Brooks (trans. sub.)	0 1 0
Bowles Park W.S.P.U. (coll.)	0 0 0
Mrs. M. E. Bell	0 0 0
Mrs. A. and E. Crawley	0 6 1
Mrs. B. W. Henderson	0 2 7
Mrs. E. G. Jenkins	0 2 6
C. W.	0 0 0
Mrs. R. F. Edmonds	0 2 6
Mrs. E. L. Dixon	0 1 0
Mrs. L. M. Burton	0 5 0
Mrs. M. Ingram and Mrs. J. Cox	0 3 0
Mrs. Isabel Adams	0 2 0
Mrs. Constance Hart	0 1 0
Mrs. Louis Burham	0 2 0
Mrs. M. B. Crook	0 2 0
Mrs. A. C. Horsley	1 1 0
Mrs. G. Hardy	0 1 0
Mrs. Edith Taylor	0 1 0
Paddington W.S.P.U. Street coll. Walker	0 6 0
Miss Morris and	0 4 0
Mrs. K. H. Mugridge	0 2 0
Mrs. A. Reay	0 1 0
Misses A. and D. Bowes	0 0 0
Mrs. R. A. Smith	5 0 0
Stephens W.S.P.U. (coll. box)	0 0 0
Per Miss R. Barrett—	1 1 0
Mrs. J. B. Barrett	0 2 0
Per Miss L. Burns—	1 3 0
Mrs. M. Hislop	0 2 6
Mr. and Mrs. Curran and Miss Makin, sen. Eq.	1 3 0
Mrs. John Brunton, sen. Eq.	1 1 0
Ivy	50 0 0
A Friend	0 5 0
Mr. McLeod Eason	0 0 0
Mrs. Joseph Dobbie	1 0 0
Mrs. E. A. Lea	1 0 0
Miss M. C. Lees	10 0 0
The Misses Wilson	0 0 0
Mrs. H. M. Login	1 0 0
Mrs. M. A. Mac- donald	2 0 0
W. R. M.	5 0 0
Mrs. K. A. Mac- donald	5 0 0
Mrs. W. A. Waddel	2 0 0
Mrs. Ruth Waddel	0 5 0
Mrs. B. E. McIvor	0 5 0
Mrs. E. B. McIvor	0 2 0
Per Miss Duff—	0 1 0
A Member	0 1 0
Per Miss F. Parker—	0 1 0
A Friend	1 0 0
Mrs. Barclay	1 0 0
Mrs. Fingland	2 0 0
Mrs. Hislop	0 2 0
Mrs. Brown	0 1 6
Mrs. Hill	0 1 6
Mrs. Hannan	0 1 6
A Friend	0 1 0
Mrs. Cecalda	1 0 0
Mrs. E. Baker	0 5 0
Mrs. Wallace Guest	1 0 0
Mrs. Bloom	0 1 0
Mrs. Isabella Boyd	0 2 0
Mrs. Helen Boyd	0 2 0
Mrs. Jeanie Boyd	0 2 0

RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF ENGLISH WOMEN.

The Meaning of the Hunger Strike.

When Mr. Winston Churchill added Rule 243a to the Prison Regulations rather more than two years ago it was thought that the militant suffragists had won their right to a different treatment in prison from that of the ordinary criminal. For this they had endured the suffering of the hunger strike, the torture of forcible feeding, the pain of being handcuffed day and night. It will be seen that the wording of the Rule is ambiguous, that it may mean much or little, that its application depends largely on the Home Secretary. As applied to the women sentenced for window-breaking last December, it represented only the minimum of political recognition. They were allowed to wear their own clothes, to do their own needlework, to have books and food sent in from outside, to exercise twice instead of once a day, and to talk freely when exercising. They were not allowed newspapers or writing materials, and were permitted only one letter a fortnight and one visitor a month. This was far short of full political recognition such as was granted to Dr. Jamieson and more recently to Mr. Ginnell, M.P. It was accepted by the Suffragist prisoners as a minimum, and it was thought that the days of the Hunger Strike were over.

Then came the convictions of March, 1912. With the exception of a few who were arrested early in the militant proceedings, upwards of two hundred women then sent to prison were denied the privileges due to them under Rule 243a. They have been allowed to wear their own clothes and to talk when exercising; otherwise their treatment has been that of the ordinary prisoner. The Home Secretary has based his refusal to apply the rule on (1) the addition of hard labour to the sentences of those dealt with summarily; and (2) the greater length of the sentences given by the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions. These alleged reasons are seen at once to be mere official quibbles, for the power of the Home Office to intervene in both cases has not been denied by Mr. McKenna.

For a whole month the women, some still on remand, some convicted, petitioned in vain for the rights of political prisoners. On the eve of Good Friday the women in Aylesbury Prison started the hunger strike. After five days of it they were subjected to the abominable process known as forcible feeding. Then five of them, ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, were released to tell the shameful tale. It is told in their own words below, and it is not a tale of which twentieth century England can be proud.

We understand that the Suffragists in Holloway Prison are following the gallant example of those in Aylesbury in striking for the rights of political offenders. What steps do the Government mean to take to stop this Russian treatment in their prisons?

A deputation waited upon Mr. McKenna last Monday to urge him to grant the application of the Rule. It was introduced by Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., and consisted, amongst others, of Mr. Gardiner, editor of the *Daily News*, Mr. Henry Holiday, Dr. McClure, and of the following Members of Parliament: Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Noel Buxton, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Murray Macdonald, Mr. Philip Morrell, Mr. T. E. Harvey, Mr. Walter Roche, Mr. Whitehouse. The proceedings were private.

The Bishop of Lincoln, we understand, was asked to join the deputation, and though unable to do so at so short a notice wrote to express his willingness and also to affirm his strong condemnation of the policy of forcible feeding.

We print below the answers of the Home Secretary to questions put in the House. Read in conjunction with the stories told by the women for whose suffering he is mainly responsible, they make a grim indictment of a Liberal Minister.

PERSONAL NARRATIVES.

The following accounts from three of the women released last week from Aylesbury Prison tell their own story.—

DR. EDE.

On March 26th, 1912, I was sentenced at Newington to four months' imprisonment for breaking windows. I was taken to Holloway for an hour or two, given meal in a "reception cell" by myself, and then I was taken, with nine others, in a motor vehicle, with closely boarded-up windows, but no small compartments, to the "State

Inebriate Reformatory" section of Aylesbury Prison.

I was put straight into a "room," which remained mine thenceforward. This room had a many-paned, iron-framed window, and four panes opened, giving about eight inches by eight for ventilation. These cells are a little larger, and much superior to those in Holloway, where I had just previously been on remand for twelve days. Arriving late, most formalities were left till next day, when the doctor listened to my chest (with my consent), and the Governor told me that we were just ordinary prisoners, without the privileges under Rule 243a (Mr. Winston Churchill's vaunted clemency), but that we were allowed to wear our own clothes. Then the pillow I had brought (a most essential comfort, not a mere luxury) was taken away, all books, knitting, even one's brush and comb, and many small possessions were taken, and I began to "do time." But I was thankful for the sight of real country, fields and trees, whenever I got up on my chair and looked out of the window, the fresh country air, which we all revelled in at exercise time, and the songs of the birds.

The food was ample in quantity, and the vegetarian diet, which I had, was in quality and variety sufficient, though not quite satisfactory, for a healthy person. Whether I should have said the same after four months of it, I do not know. We ten exercised by ourselves at first, but were soon allowed exercise in common with those who had arrived before or came in after us. Chapel also was common ground. Associated labour was deferred for several

amazed me once more. Next morning I took the responsibility of telling the Governor, and we were thenceforward confined each to her cell and kept strictly apart, chapel and exercise being stopped. Those who had not struck, and one or two who absolutely could not keep on any longer, were exercised together. The relief of having those trying meals off our hands was great, and the feeling that we need no longer "keep up."

But when Tuesday's dinner had been refused by us, and then tea, we became anxious as to what the next step would be, and when it would be taken. About five o'clock we began to hear sounds of struggling in cell after cell, pleadings and remonstrances, sounds of choking and gasping, moans and distressful cries. I have never heard, in all my professional experiences, anything so agonising. And we had to hear this, recognising which of our comrades was being tortured, and waiting for our own turn to come. Let no one pretend that to be fed forcibly is either safe or free from suffering; it is neither, and it is inexpressibly revolting. Many were fed by tube through the nose, one at least by tube through the mouth, others by feeding-cup forced between the teeth, the mouth pulled about, the nose held nearly to suffocation.

My turn came. Some half-dozen wardresses in a body came quickly into my cell. But I had thought out how best to resist, and I was standing on my table with my arms out of two open panes, elbows bent, and hands well up the sleeves of my coat. I refused to come down, so a wardress on each side of me tried through the other two open panes to get

ing; a woman about whose identity and relationships they had shown themselves puzzled and curious—neither of these having reached the limits of her strength—and a nurse. There were others in greater need of release, in my opinion.

And the whole of this suffering could have been stopped instantly by restoring to us the privileges under Rule 243a, and giving us the status of political prisoners instead of that of ordinary criminals!

FRANCIS EDE, M.D.

MISS AGNES KELLY.

On arriving at Aylesbury we all made one final application to the Home Secretary for our rights under 243a. No notice whatever was taken of our demand, so we decided upon the hunger strike.

A few of us began on Holy Thursday, but the majority started on Good Friday morning. We did it secretly—a difficult matter in many ways, since it included carrying on all our ordinary occupations (attendance at chapel, cell cleaning, exercise, associated labour, &c.), while our strength was ebbing away hour by hour. The strain was severe, but not one of the twenty-five gave in.

At last, on Tuesday morning, we had reason to know that the authorities were aware of what was going on. We sat in our cells, waiting. Dinner came, but of course we all left it untouched, this time openly. We put our little tin cans of food back in the corridor, and again sat waiting, waiting.

At last it came—the knowledge that we were to be forcibly fed. Almost our first intimation of what was going on was a short sharp scream of agony from one of the cells on the top corridor. Then we knew.

All that evening it kept on. Never a cry of pain, for suffragettes bear pain unflinchingly. Never anything short of a cry wrung from the sufferer by sheer torture, followed sometimes by a wailing sound for a minute or two, sometimes by a still more awful silence. One lay and waited, trying to judge how long the silence would last, and then hearing it suddenly broken. It has been said "Whoever has heard a human shriek knows that a more perfect hell could be made out of sound than from any preparation of fire and brimstone." We were all in that perfect hell from Tuesday afternoon onwards. My cell was the twenty-second from where they started, so it seemed to me, and perhaps was, some hours before they reached me. The doctor refused to use the tube in my case, so I was only held down by five wardresses while food was forced down my throat in a more merciful fashion than was used to my friends.

On Thursday afternoon five of us were released, including Doctor Ede and Nurse Humphreys, whose very presence had been a comfort and a stay to us all, on account of their profession as well as by reason of their personal character.

One word more. I can testify in my own case at least, all the officials at Aylesbury carried out their abominable task as kindly and humanly as possible. Emphatically our complaint is against the Government, as represented by Mr. McKenna, whose orders they were forced to obey.

AGNES KELLY (Oonagh Ceallaigh)

MISS MARGARET HALEY.

If anyone had looked into the Suffragettes' cells of Aylesbury Prison at dinner time on Good Friday they would have seen each woman busy with her dinner, chopping up the egg and mashing the potatoes and bread. She would have continued this occupation so long as she was conscious of an observer, but the moment she was left alone she might have been observed standing on her chair and throwing this carefully prepared mess through the open panes into the garden below, where rooks and other birds loyally co-operated in disposing of the embarrassing remains. The silence of that dinner hour was charged with a grim significance, for it was the first day of a hunger strike and the prelude to five long days of fasting.

On Tuesday morning we were each examined by the doctor preparatory to being forcibly fed. Seventeen women were fed before me, and the time I spent locked in my cell, listening to their struggles and their cries and battling with my own fear was an experience which, I hope, may never be repeated.

MARGARET HALEY.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 15, Mr. Leach asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he intends to remit the remaining part of the sentences of imprisonment passed on the women window-smashers, seeing that he has already released from gaol the leader and instigator of these women; and, if not, will he explain why he does not intend to do so?

Mr. McKenna: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. I advised the remission of a part of Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence in order that she might be in the same position as her co-defendants in preparing her defence on the later charge against her. There are no similar circumstances in the case of the other prisoners.

Mr. Lansbury asked the Home Secretary whether he would state to the House the reason he has not allowed women suffrage prisoners in division three the privileges conceded to such prisoners by his predecessor under Article 243a of the prison rules?

Mr. McKenna: I have given the privileges under Rule 243a to those suffragette prisoners who have been sentenced to short terms in the second or third division, but where the offence was of such a character that the defendants had to be sent for trial on indictment, and the Court regarded the violence as so serious as to call for a long term of imprisonment, it appeared to me that I could not properly accord privileges which were expressly intended only for persons not guilty of serious violence. I have, however, received a letter this morning from the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and in consequence of what he says, I am considering the question of giving certain of the privileges allowed under Rule 243a.

Mr. Snowden: Is it not a fact that certain women convicted for similar offences last November were given the advantage of this special rule?

Mr. McKenna: Last November certain women were convicted on indictment, but in that case the Court did not appear to take the view that the violence was serious, and only gave a sentence of two months. In the present cases the Court has in no case given less than three months and in many cases six months. That is the distinguishing feature from which it is quite clear that the Court regarded the offences of last March as being of a more serious character than those of last November.

Mr. Snowden: Are we to understand, then, that if the sentence does not exceed two months the special privileges under Article 243a of the Prison Rules are to be granted, and if the sentence exceeds two months they will be denied?

Mr. McKenna: Not altogether, as I have stated in my answer. The Chairman of Quarter Sessions has sent me a letter in which he expresses certain views about the seriousness of the offences, and in consequence of this letter I am considering the question whether certain of the privileges under Rule 243a should not be allowed to the convicted prisoners in these cases.

Sir W. Byles: Is there any possibility of avoiding the horrors of forcible feeding?

Mr. McKenna: Oh, yes. The prisoners have only got to consent to take their food in the ordinary way.

Sir W. Byles: The right hon. gentleman misunderstands me. I meant, of course, when they do not take their food in the ordinary way.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it not a fact that the hunger strike, or going without food, has arisen solely because these women consider themselves entitled to the privileges allowed by the right hon. gentleman's predecessor?

Mr. McKenna: It would be very difficult to enter into the minds of these women, but I cannot accept the view put forward by my hon. friend because one of these women has gone on the hunger strike who is receiving the benefit of these rules.

Mr. Lansbury: Is it not a fact that she did so solely out of sympathy for the other women and because she declined to be made an exception of?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir; she went on the hunger strike before the other women. (Laughter.)

Mr. Lansbury: There is a lot to laugh at, more especially on the part of hon. members opposite.

Mr. Lansbury asked how many prisoners in prison for offences connected with the recent suffrage disturbances have been forcibly fed; how many are now being forcibly fed; and have any of the prisoners so fed been discharged, and for what reason?

Mr. McKenna: Twenty-five of these prisoners have attempted to starve themselves, and have had to be fed forcibly. Of these five were at once reported for discharge on medical grounds, one suffering from heart disease, two from aortic disease, one from phthisis, and one from asthma. Three of the others have resumed the natural mode of feeding; seven take their food from a feeding cup; and ten have to be fed by tube in order to prevent their injuring themselves by voluntary starvation.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is it a fact that certain of these women were not allowed to use the water taps during the time the strike was on?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir, that is not exactly the case. After inquiry I was informed that milk was put into the cells of some of these women who declined to take their food in the ordinary way instead of water, but on their spilling the milk or otherwise getting rid of it, they were given free access to the taps, and they have had supplies of water.

Mr. Keir Hardie: How long was the prohibition of water maintained?

Mr. McKenna: There was no prohibition of the supplies of water. The hon. member has not given me notice of this question, and I may say that the whole transaction occurred without my knowledge, but as I understand it, what happened was that milk was put in the cells, and as soon as it was found that they would not take the milk they were given access to the water.

Mr. Snowden: Is it not a fact that some

of the women are being fed by tubes through the nostrils?

Mr. McKenna: Possibly that is so, but my hon. friend must give me notice of that question.

Mr. Lansbury: Is the right hon. gentleman aware these women are taking this step to assert their right to be treated as political prisoners, and will he consider whether the Government he represents could not concede to them the same privileges which were fought for in the case of the hon. member for Cork City (Mr. W. O'Brien), whose clothes were only taken away, and who was not fed in this brutal and disgusting fashion?

Mr. McKenna: I do not know the right hon. member for Cork City ever declined to take his food.

Mr. Lansbury: He declined to wear the prison clothes.

Mr. McKenna: I may remind my hon. friend that, unlike the case of the hon. member for Cork City, these women—

Mr. Lansbury: They have no votes.

Mr. McKenna: These women are allowed to wear their own clothes, and there is no parallel in the case. Everybody undoubtedly feels very great sympathy with them, and I am sorry to be compelled to force them; but, if they refuse to take their food, there is no other course open to us.

Mr. W. O'Brien: May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether it is not a fact that the fight the Irish members made was against three separate prison rules—first, that they should wear prison dress; secondly, that they should exercise with ordinary criminals; and, thirdly, that they should carry out menial offices in connection with sweeping out their cells and making their beds, and is it not a fact that some months after the fight had been made at some little risk and pain the Government, the Tory Government, dropped everyone of these rules and treated us for the future as political prisoners?

Mr. McKenna: My recollection of the circumstances is not so clear as that of the hon. member; but, as far as I remember the case, none of the prisoners of whom the hon. member speaks were charged with personal violence. That is the chief distinction in the present case.

Mr. W. O'Brien: We were not women.

Mr. McKenna: If these women had confined themselves to expressing political opinions and had been charged with that, as the hon. member for Cork City was, there would have been no question of their receiving these privileges.

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask whether the privileges under this new rule are not to be granted to prisoners whose offence does not imply moral turpitude, and whether that does not apply to the women who got six months as much as to the others?

Mr. McKenna: I believe the expression "moral turpitude" was used by my right hon. friend the late Home Secretary (Mr. Churchill), but there is no mention of "moral turpitude" in the rule, and, as far as I interpret their action, I consider they were guilty of moral turpitude.

Mr. Lansbury asked what number of prisoners arrested in connection with the recent suffrage disturbances have been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour; what number to imprisonment in division three; and how many of those in division three are receiving the privileges laid down in the prison rule 243a?

Mr. McKenna: Seventy-six have been sentenced to hard labour, and 127 to imprisonment in the third division. Of the latter thirty-one were convicted and sentenced to short terms at the police courts, and have been allowed the privileges of Rule 243a. The others were tried on indictment and were sentenced to longer terms of imprisonment.

TWO PRESS VIEWS.

We give our heartiest support to the appeal of a correspondent from Bristol for an immediate and drastic mitigation of the sentences upon the women suffragists in prison. It is, we feel, impossible to deny the plea that "the majesty of the law" has been sufficiently vindicated, and that the prisoners, whom no one, however furious his opposition to the cause, can dream of associating with a criminal motive, have already more than expiated their offence. The sentences passed upon the window-breakers were of a most vindictive character, and the refusal of the Churchill concessions has been a blunder which, we cannot doubt, will be early and deeply regretted. The Home Office has already used its authority for the liberation of certain of the prisoners. We urge upon Mr. McKenna that there should be no hesitation about the remainder.—*Daily News*, April 11.

Those who were convicted last November were quite properly given the benefit of the new rule, and we fail to understand why those convicted last month were not treated in the same way. Some of them were and some were not, a distinction being drawn apparently in respect of the length of the sentence imposed. But the length of the sentence has nothing to do with the character of the offence, and the longer sentence is, if anything, a reason for more rather than less lenient treatment if the offence is really, as it undoubtedly is, identical. "Serious violence" may be variously interpreted, but would seem primarily to imply violence to the person. In any case, the offence of breaking a plate-glass window can be no more serious in March than in November.—*Manchester Guardian*, April 12.



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SOME ANALOGIES.

History has acquired a new interest for us now that we are making it ourselves, and it is surprising to find in reading the story of any great struggle the same elements that make up the Suffrage movement to-day. All through the ages the gradual birth of new ideas has met with attempts at repression, and a courageous spirit ever has prevailed over tyranny. In almost every book we take up that deals with the real life of to-day, we find some analogy with the Suffrage movement, and in the story of the English Socialist movement, told by Mr. Hyndman in his book, "The Record of an Adventurous Life" (Macmillan and Co. 1s. net), there is, whatever we may think of the political aspect, much that will come home to us with special force at this juncture.

Are we dreaming when we read on page 389 that Sir William Harcourt said: "For my part I don't believe in any great popular discontent until I hear of ricks on fire and factories in flames"? Can it be true (Mr. Hyndman says so) that during the unemployed riots in 1886 a mob, led by the present President of the Local Government Board, carrying a red flag, went up St. James's Street; that for some reason not made very clear, the windows of many clubs were smashed; that in Piccadilly things got "worse and worse"; that tailors' windows were broken and the shops looted; that the whole of South Audley Street was pretty thoroughly looted, and—that, next day, people who had been indifferent to the unemployed question suddenly woke up, and within forty-eight hours the Lord Mayor received £75,000 in contributions! But then came (it sounds familiar) a newspaper agitation about the "frightful dangers," even a suggestion that a hose pipe should be used, and finally the arrest on a charge of "sedition of some sort" of Mr. Champion, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Hyndman. While they were on bail before the actual trial, Burns and Champion, we are told, "made very injudicious and dangerous speeches, talking about lopping a million heads off, and that sort of thing." The trial ended in the acquittal of all four prisoners. 'Tis a far cry from the Old Bailey dock to the padded armchairs of Local Government.

We should not be human if we could resist quoting the following, which refers to the German Socialist Liebknecht:

It became quite natural for him to incur terms of imprisonment, about which he made no fuss at all, either when he went in or when he came out. True, German political prisoners are treated with reasonable courtesy and consideration. They are not handled as Davitt and others have been treated in this country in the past or lady suffragettes are to-day, as if they were the vilest of unseemly ruffians. A German political prisoner is regarded as a political prisoner, and is entitled to decent surroundings and to the use of his books and his papers. Continental usages are never so wholly brutal and blackguardly in this respect as those of the British upper classes, who reserve all their sympathy for the victims of the tyranny of others, and resort freely to the physical and mental torture of their political opponents themselves.

The whole book is a very interesting commentary on the present treatment of women Suffragists in prison.

UNDER THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Often in life we are surprised to find how a momentary flash may reveal to us some profound truth, which, after an age-long search, was still hidden from us. Thus Mr. Nevinson, in his book, "Between the Acts," with the deft hand of the cunning craftsman, lifts the curtain for a moment upon some of the little by-plays of the drama of life, and shows the deep realities underlying all the bubble and froth at the top. We feel, too, that so many of our little hypocrisies and cherished illusions are exposed to the searchlight of a gentle irony, and it takes an artist of the pen to drive home a truth with so much delicacy as in this sentence: "Saying little about liberty, they possess freedom." We are carried over a wide field, from a delightfully humorous picture of quaint family worship in an old-fashioned household to vivid and realistic pictures of battlefields. This is a book to rest a tired mind, and withal to leave us somewhat wiser than we were before we met it.

K. D. S.

AN IRRESISTIBLE FORCE.

Dr. Schirmacher's name must be well-known to readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, as we have often had occasion to notice her excellent writings. Some years ago she wrote an interesting account of, as it was termed, "The Woman's Rights Movement," embracing practically the whole world. This book has now been translated into English, with a few slight alterations and additions. It will be welcomed by all who are interested in the Woman's Movement in its widest aspect, for it demonstrates how thoroughly united are the women of all countries in their aims, and that the very breadth and world-wideness of this movement must eventually become such an irresistible force that no human power whatsoever can withstand it.

K. D. S.

RUSSIA.

"Under the Russian and British Flags," by Jaakoff Prelooker (Sprigg's Publishing Agency. Paper, 1s. net; cloth, 2s. net), is an account of the life and exciting experiences of an ardent Jewish Russian Reformer. Mr. Prelooker is also a keen supporter of everything which tends

* "Between the Acts." By Henry W. Nevinson. Duckworth and Co. 2/6 net.

* "The Modern Woman's Rights Movement." A Historical Survey. By Dr. Käthe Schirmacher. Translated from the German by Carl Conrad Ekhart, Ph. D. The Macmillan Co. Price 6s. 6d. net.

towards religious toleration and a better and more sympathetic understanding of the essentials which lie at the bottom of all forms of faith. His efforts in this direction are interestingly narrated in this book. It is hardly necessary to add that Mr. Prelooker is a believer in Woman's Suffrage, and has given it his support not only in words, but in deeds.

K. D. S.

VERSE.

Two small books of verse have reached us. One is a collection of poems by Gerald Gould (Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., price 1s. 6d.). Mr. Gould has won a place among modern poets; he writes simply, musically, and with a feeling both for the more human joys and for the calmer pleasures of nature. A dainty fancy characterizes Miss Ruth Young's new book of verse, "The Water-carrier of Venice" (Elkin Matthews, 1s. 6d. net). In a poem which gives the book its title she reminds the stone figure of the broken lives of women in his own beautiful city, and tells him how Englishwomen are fighting for their sisters. The last poem, addressed "To the New Woman," bids her—

Waken! To your bosom
Hold the radiant form of Hope.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Thread of Life." By H.R.H. the Infanta Eulalia of Spain. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"The 100 Best Investments," with Introduction by Emil Davies. (The British, Foreign and Colonial Corporation, Ltd. Price 1s. net.)

Men's League for Women's Suffrage: Fifth Annual Report, to April, 1912. (159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.)

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THE IDEAL-HOME-HUNTERS.

(Overheard at the "Ideal Home Exhibition,"
Olympia, Kensington.)

"Now," said Philip, as the big Olympian doors closed behind them, "I will show you my ideal home."

"And I," said Chloe, "will show you mine, if I can find it."

"You'll easily do that," said Philip, lightly. "They have all sorts here."

It was not long before he wished they hadn't had one sort. He could not drag Chloe away for quite a long time. She examined every detail with profound interest.

"I thought it was a prison," she said, indignantly, "and it is!"

"It" was a miniature domed dwelling with high walls and closely-barred windows that might just as well not have been there, so successfully did they keep out the light of heaven, and so admirably were they designed to prevent anyone inside from seeing anything outside.

"What tragic lives are being lived behind thousands of windows just like those," said Chloe, with great energy.

"Don't get excited," Philip pleaded, anxiously, "and I do wish you wouldn't go about with that big muff."

Then Chloe spoke with flaming eyes. "If only I had a ham—" "Oh, hush!" Philip implored, feverishly. He caught her arm. "At any rate," he added, in a tone that was meant to be soothing, but that had just the opposite effect, "it's the Turk's ideal home!"

"That's just it!" Chloe responded, heatedly. "That's what I'm driving at. He thinks he can beat his women back and shut them up in their dear little painted cages; he is divorcing his wife and ill-treating his daughter for daring to appear at those unutterable windows—through which you can't see without their veils; he wants them to be children all their lives, or dolls."

"Let's talk of something else," said Philip, drawing her away. "Let's find our ideal home."

"Yes, let's," she agreed.

"And after all," he remarked, as they left the little domed house, "it's a ripping idea for showing off those Oriental carpets!"

They followed the crowd to the delightful Dutch village and bulb farm.

"Well, at any rate," said Chloe, when they had seen everything, "I like the Dutchman's ideal better than the Turk's. His houses may be small, but they are light. And look at those women skating to market; their dress may not be very practical, but they are quite athletic-looking. And that's a country where they are ruled by a Queen," she added, with apparent inconsequence.

"Dutch women aren't out for votes," said Philip, rashly.

"If they aren't yet they will be soon," was Chloe's cheerful response. "Well, and is this your ideal? Miles and miles of bulb, with canals and windmills stretching away as far as you can see? Will you be a Dutch farmer and I your vrow 'to keep your house, and wash, wring, brew, bake, scour, dress meat, make the beds, and do all myself?' In the intervals of doing it I might possibly discover a black tulip, or a purple white and green one!"

"Of course it's not my ideal," laughed Philip. "You have your writing work; you couldn't possibly do everything. Come along. We have yet to find it."

Philip's ideal was a charming-looking "village-residence." It had pretty old-fashioned gable roofs, and you approached it through a miniature garden exquisitely laid out. The entrance was by way of a small hall furnished with table, chairs, and a sideboard. From this hall you went on the right into the kitchen and the dining-room, and on the left into the sitting-room.

"I hope," said Chloe, thoughtfully, when they had seen all the rooms upstairs and down, "that neither of us will grow stout."

"Why?" asked Philip.

"Because even in our present very 'fit' condition we seem to fill up the rooms and staircases so horribly! If we were wax figures who could keep still and look as if we lived here, it would be all right! But we are so terribly active. Think of muddy boots and wet mackintoshes in this dainty hall!"

"It's a charming house," said Philip, severely.

"The first thing," Chloe pursued, remorselessly, "that this ideal home requires is an ideal housekeeper. And you know we can't afford that luxury, even with our combined incomes, in addition to the rent and other expenses. I should want to blow the roof off within a week, if I attempted to do the housework in addition to my other work. Think of all those windows, with hundreds of panes of glass (Philip started to keep clean (he breathed again) and—oh, don't you see, Philip dear, that I might as well be a Dutch vrow at once? Your ideal home is only *Ideal-for-one-to-come-home-to-in-the-evening-when-the-other-has-been-at-work-all-day-keeping-it-nice!* And for that other it would be just as much a prison as the harem, unless the business of domesticity happened to be the business in life of that other!"

"What do you want, then?" asked Philip, coldly.

"A house that won't take all one's time to look after," she answered firmly, if ungrammatically.

"I see," said Philip, thoughtfully. "We haven't found our ideal yet."

"Not unless you want your wife to be a domestic drudge!"

"I don't," he responded, fervently. And then they both laughed, and went on looking for *The Ideal Home that would not be one person's work to keep nice in order that the other might have it to come home to when the day's work was done.*

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 1912.

VOTES FOR IRISHWOMEN.

This Union will oppose the Home Rule Bill by every means in its power. There are various urgent reasons why every woman should oppose the Bill.

The first is that unless we convince Mr. Redmond of our power to destroy his cause he will persist in his policy of destroying ours. Nothing but the peril in which we are able to put the Home Rule Bill will deter him from resisting the grant of Votes to Women, whether in England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland. We need feel not the smallest compunction in pursuing our campaign against the Home Rule Bill, because Mr. Redmond, by declaring war upon us, has richly deserved our antagonism, and has disgraced and degraded his own movement.

The Home Rule Bill is rooted and founded in injustice. It is a deliberate insult to Irishwomen, and consequently it is an insult to the women of the whole Kingdom. Nothing more reactionary could be conceived than to establish a brand-new Constitution which gives political rights to men only. Everything which Ulstermen, who are to have votes and special safeguards, too, are saying against the Bill applies infinitely more in the case of women all over Ireland. It is incredible that even a Liberal Government, with all their accustomed impudent flouting of Liberal principles, should have introduced a Bill so unjust to women. We question whether a Conservative Government would have dared, at this time of day, to erect a new Constitution, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, without conferring citizenship on women. It has been reserved to a Liberal Government to do this iniquity in South Africa and to attempt it in Ireland. We pledge ourselves to unite with Irish women to resist that attempt. We are determined that Irishmen shall wait for ever for Home Rule unless women are to have it too. The greedy fashion in which Nationalist politicians are snatching at self-government for themselves while trampling on the rights of women, is contemptible.

In a few days from now the women of Ireland, turning from the politicians who have failed them, will ask the men assembled at the National Convention at Dublin to unite the claims of women with those of men, and to demand Home Rule not only for the men, but for the nation of Ireland. If that appeal is disregarded, then we may be sure that these women will know how to fight unaided for their political freedom.

No doubt Messrs. Asquith and Redmond will try to shelter themselves behind the preposterous excuse that the question of Woman Suffrage is one which ought to be settled not by the Imperial Parliament, but by the proposed Irish Parliament itself. They would not dare to submit such an argument to the Ulster Protestant men. They would not dare to tell them that safeguards could not be established by the Imperial Parliament as part of the Home Rule Bill, but must be left to depend on the subsequent decision of the Irish Parliament. If any such statement were made, Ulster would, within twenty-four hours, be in active and violent revolution. Then let them not venture to make any such provocative and offensive statement to Irish women, whether in Ulster or elsewhere!

Women demand a certain safeguard as an integral and essential part of the Home Rule Bill. That safeguard is the Vote. The Imperial Parliament is as much bound and is as much entitled to give women a vote for the Irish Parliament as it is bound and entitled to give men a vote for that Parliament. There is absolutely no difference between Parliament's obligations towards Irishwomen and its obligations towards Irishmen. It is the duty of the Imperial Government and the Imperial Parliament, in launching Ireland upon its new Constitutional career, to place the men and women of that country upon a footing of equality—giving to neither sex an advantage over the other.

Irishwomen have too much political wisdom to trust to specious suggestions that after the Home Rule Bill is passed the Irish Parliament will give them the vote. Such a promise was made to Catholics at the time of the Union. It was not fulfilled until twenty-nine years later, and only then because, Ireland being on the brink of revolution, the Government were terrorised into fulfilling it. A fine prospect this to hold out to Irish women—that they shall toil a quarter of a century and more for the vote, and then be driven to revolution before they get it! Better settle the matter now, say they.

The difficulty of getting the Vote at the hands of the Irish Parliament would be enormous. In the first place, there is, we are told, to be in the Home Rule Act a provision whereby the Irish Parliament would be for a term of three years debarred from making any change in the franchise. In any case, the Irish politicians, especially if Mr. Redmond continues to be influential, would strongly resist women's enfranchisement, on the plea that it was premature to reopen the Constitutional question so lately closed, and that they were overwhelmed by other business arising out of the new condition of affairs. Yet another cause of difficulty in getting Votes for Women after the passage of the Home Rule Bill would be this. Irishwomen would have to move not one but two Governments, and not one but two Parliaments. For according to the terms of the Home Rule Bill, the decisions of the Irish Parliament are subject to the veto of the Imperial Government and the Imperial Parliament. Therefore the process would be as follows. First, the Irish Government would have to be prevailed upon to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill. This having passed through the Irish House of Commons might encounter the opposition of the Senate. Seeing that Mr. Asquith is to nominate the first forty members of the Irish Senate, it is more than likely that they will be Anti-Suffragists, and their rejection of a Woman Suffrage Bill may therefore be taken for granted, and Mr. Redmond's subsequent additions will probably not be more satisfactory. At the joint sitting of House of Commons and Senate which would be necessary in that event, it might well happen that the Anti-Suffrage Senators and the Anti-Suffragist minority in the Commons, voting together, would win the day. But supposing the Bill safely through the Irish Parliament, then the Imperial Government, perhaps with Mr. Asquith at its head, could veto, or what would be as bad, though more subtle, could indefinitely postpone the operation of the Bill. In the event of women being still without a vote for the Imperial Parliament, the Imperial Government would be especially likely to veto the Irish Woman Suffrage Bill in order that no filip might be given to the wider movement for the Imperial franchise. In this connection, we may point out that some thirty-four Nationalist members would be still at Westminster (these seats and salaries at Westminster are likely to be reserved for the "old gang" who are opposing our movement at present), and would be able to co-operate in this matter with Mr. Asquith in the interests of the Anti-Suffrage cause on both sides of the Irish Channel.

Yet another reason why we as women must oppose the Home Rule Bill with all our strength! The Bill does not stand alone. It is, we are told by the Prime Minister, the first instalment of a scheme of devolution which is to apply to all parts of the Kingdom. The Irish Parliament is to be the forerunner of other local Parliaments. In the Home Rule Bill, therefore, we must look for the principles upon which the Government intend to frame the new Federal Constitution. One of these principles is, we discover, the exclusive enfranchisement of men—the political subjection of women. The Liberal Government intend, if they can, not only to continue to cheat us of our share in the control of Imperial affairs, but to cheat us also of the control of such matters as fall within the province of local Parliaments in Ireland and elsewhere. Once again we learn the lesson that unless and until our franchise rights are identical with those of men, we are defenceless against injustice.

The crisis is a grave one, but that very fact is a challenge and a stimulus. We shall, as women, be equal to the occasion. We have power. Let us use it. In the days when the Nationalist Party were weak, the Liberal Government truculently declared that they would not deal with the Home Rule question. Now that office depends upon Nationalist support, Mr. Asquith talks of "the honour of reconciling Ireland." He must be taught, and in similar fashion, to crave the honour of reconciling women.

“CUSTODIA HONESTA”

Treatment of Political Prisoners.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE SIGERSON, M.D., &c., Member of Royal Commission on Prisons, 1884.

Recent decisions seem to endanger the ancient and honourable custom of the realm and of civilised nations as regards the prison treatment of persons not guilty of common crime. This is due doubtless to want of knowledge.

We can and must discriminate between legal crimes. The nature of the offence is an element essential to the consideration of the treatment of the offender. Blackstone makes the distinction, when he points out that certain offences, as to which all are agreed, are *mala in se*, whilst others are *mala prohibita* merely, without any intermixture of moral guilt."

This distinction is made and acted on in International Law. Common criminals are given up, at once; but, as Creasy states, "a general understanding prevails that political refugees should not be given up, if they can succeed in taking refuge on board a ship of war of another nation." The distinction was made and acted on, at the time of the Orsini bomb conspiracy, when, on Lord Palmerston's proposal to amend the law, Lord Derby declared that not for the security of all the sovereigns of Europe would he violate the sacred right of asylum to foreigners, and when Mr. Gladstone declared "these times are grave for Liberty." The Ministry was defeated and resigned.

Let it be clearly understood that the practice was in strict conformity with the principle of discrimination. The closing years of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were ruthless for common criminals. In the seven years preceding 1822 seven hundred, less seven, were hanged. In 1834 the last execution for stealing letters took place. The state of such prisoners in the jails was deplorable.

Now, in marked contrast, the condition of political prisoners was that of simple detention—*custodia honesta*—as it is to-day in all civilised nations.

Precedents for Discrimination.

This is fully exemplified by a number of convincing cases, which stand forth as precedents:—

In 1799 United Irishmen—"guilty of the heinous crime of High Treason"—were conveyed from Belfast and Dublin to Fort George, in Scotland. There they messaged together, pursued their studies, saw visitors, and Mrs. Thomas Addis Emmet was allowed to reside in the fortress with her husband and their three boys.

In 1809 there was discontent in Britain and danger abroad. The local militia at Ely mutinied and demanded arrears of pay: four squadrons of the German Legion suppressed them, and two of their ring-leaders were ordered 500 lashes each. Cobbett reviled them with savage sarcasm, for their pusillanimity in submitting—his article seemed to incite to mutiny and to hatred of the German troops. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £1,000. Sir H. Lytton Bulwer, G.C.B., condemning the sentence as little short of Star-Chamber work, observes that—in Newgate!—"he carried on his farming, conducted his paper, educated his children, and waged war against his enemies." Cobbett himself tells us how he regularly wrote for his paper, and received hampers of fruit, flowers, and vegetables from his farm. He had his children with him, and rented the best portion of the Governor's house. Bulwer says he received "no indulgence"—and this is true. It was the constitutional custom.

Later, for a scathing libel on the Prince Regent, Leigh Hunt was condemned to two years' imprisonment with a fine of £500. He also received "no indulgence." His wife and children lived with him. He had his bookcases, piano, and furniture, in wards specially papered and painted, with a garden full of flowers. Moore and Byron and Charles Lamb visited him—all his friends were allowed to remain until ten o'clock at night.

In 1832 Marcus Costello was sentenced with others for attending an Anti-tithe Meeting near Dublin to six months' imprisonment. They were in simple detention, saw and entertained their friends. One of them, a schoolmaster, had his pupils thrice weekly.

Chartist Violence.

In 1839 the Chartist movement took place, with disturbances and what Lord John Russell declared "mischievous practices which are contrary to law, injurious to trade, subversive of good order, and dangerous to the peace of the country." The Duke of Wellington declared he had never seen a town, taken by assault, subjected to such violence as Birmingham had been, during an hour, by its own inhabitants. Feargus O'Connor and others were indicted for seditious conspiracy and language, and a Nonconformist minister for attending illegal meetings.

Now came an interesting and very instructive incident. Through some blunder in the local prison arrangements, O'Connor was not granted the customary treatment in York Jail. Immediately a petition, presented by Mr. Duncombe and supported by Sir E. Knatchbull, protested, reminding

Parliament that Sir E. Burdett, Leigh Hunt, Cobbett, and Montgomery, the poet, had been accorded the customary rights. There was a general feeling of disapprobation. Mr. Warburton reminded the Government that, when it was found that Lovett and Collins had been so treated, there was a uniform opinion that they be at once released, having been unduly punished. O'Connell denounced the treatment as illegal. Mr. Wakley went so far as to declare that if death occurred, the authorities would be held guilty and a verdict of manslaughter might be returned against them. But the Government disavowed all complicity, and disapproved of the alleged treatment. The Attorney-General declared that, whilst he had prosecuted Mr. O'Connor, none would more deeply regret if the account proved true. Sergeant Talfourd denounced personal indignities as the infliction of torture. Lord Brougham presented, in terms of warm advocacy, a petition from Bradford, and Lord Denman one from Leeds, praying for a free pardon because of the undue punishment. Lord Normanby declared that political offenders should not be treated as felons, and explained that O'Connell had suffered no personal indignities, had meat and wine at meals, wore his own dress, and had a prisoner to attend on him. Restrictions as to visitors and papers imposed by a local rule should be, and were, dispensed with at once.

That Anomalous Crime."

Another remarkable case was that of Mr. Vincent, in whose favour a petition was presented, signed by Hume, O'Connell, and other distinguished men. Observe that it was presented by Sergeant Talfourd, who had conducted two prosecutions against Vincent. The first was at Monmouth Assizes for having attended seditious meetings. The charge also included, said the learned Sergeant, "that anomalous crime, which he could not help thinking was a disgrace to the English law—he meant the crime of Conspiracy, which might mean almost the highest offence that could be committed and the lowest and most venial." Vincent was acquitted of the latter, but convicted of the former offence. This conviction entailed no indignities; it was simple detention. But, as great political disturbances prevailed locally, he was removed from Monmouth Jail to Milbank, and there became subject to prison rules for common felons.

Against this treatment vehement protest was made. Sergeant Talfourd recalled the case of Sir Charles Wolsey, convicted of conspiracy, who was allowed to come out of Abingdon Jail and listen to the trials. (Similar instances have occurred in Paris.) Mr. Levett, proprietor of the *Statesman*, confined in Newgate, under the harshest sentence the judge could inflict, had a large room and his proof sheets sent to him; he enjoyed all conveniences consistent with detention. Sergeant Talfourd could not think it right that a change should be made silently without the intervention of the Legislature. Mr. Duncombe pointed out that the Rev. Mr. Stephens lived in affluence in Chester Castle, with his family. The Government at once expressed regret, and promised to set matters right, and to make reparation by remitting some part of the duration of the imprisonment.

In 1844 O'Connell and his fellow-prisoners were treated like Cobbett and Hunt, and entertained their friends in prison, although their sentence had been harsh, and the Court so prejudiced and unfair, that the nine English Law Lords reversed the judgment on appeal.

Not less instructive than the English cases quoted are those other Irish cases where superior authority intervened to distinguish, to alter, and to improve the condition of prisoners technically confounded with ordinary criminals.

A Woman's Case.

One, a lady, Miss Aylward, was condemned to six months' imprisonment for Contempt of Court. The Lord Chief Justice Lefroy (1861), however, directed the Governor of Grangegorman Prison to allow her special rooms, her own physician, ample exercise, her domestic servant, and he left her free to provide what food she desired. Again, Mr. William Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, Grand Master of Orangemen, was sentenced to imprisonment (1868) for taking part in an illegal procession on July 12; he was specially treated, and was allowed to see his friends daily. In like manner Lord Mayo stated in 1868 that the rules of Richmond Bridewell, Dublin, had been relaxed to allow the Press prisoners, sentenced for "seditious libel," to provide their own food, see their friends, and have any periodicals they desired—and this, though the Irish Attorney-General said their offence was of "deeper moral guilt" than the Treason-felony prisoners—yet even he approved the relaxation.

John Bright's Protest.

The case of the Fenian prisoners stands apart. Owing to the perturbed and prejudiced state of the public mind, they were treated with a rigour which contrasts cruelly with the *custodia honesta* of the Chartists—the ancient custom of the realm. There were, however, found distinguished English gentlemen to enter a vigorous protest. On May 3, 1867, John Bright startled the House of Commons by reading their petition. It was signed by Messrs. Richard Congreve, E. Truelove, E. S. Beesley, Frederick Harrison, T. H. Bridges, H. Crompton, S. H. Reynolds, C. A. Cookson, F. B. Barton, John Maughan, S. D. Williams.

The petitioners prayed the House to take measures to revise the sentences passed, which were of excessive and irritating severity—to provide that such

prisoners shall not be confined in common with ordinary criminals, and:—

Lastly, your petitioners pray that the prisoners taken be well treated before trial, and judged and sentenced with as much leniency as is consistent with order, and that in the punishment awarded there be nothing of a degrading nature, as said punishments seem to your petitioners inapplicable to men whose cause and whose offence are alike free from dishonour, however misguided they may be, as to the special end they have in view, or as to the means they have adopted to attain that end.

Mr. Bright, having read the petition in full, added his own declaration of assent: "In the general spirit of that petition," he said, "I entirely agree."

The official defence was that a distinction was made between Fenian and common criminals, but a Royal Commission (1879) was appointed to investigate the matter, and this Commission reported strongly in favour of complete separation.

Prison Indignities.

The last struggle in Ireland between Constitutional custom and innovating Jail rules occurred, in the case of the land-war prisoners, under the Crimes Act, 1887. There was a lamentable inequality between the sentences given by the older magistrates—learned lawyers—and men recently appointed, the former sentencing prisoners as first-class misdemeanants, the latter knowing only "imprisonment and hard labour."

This involved, among other indignities, the wearing of jail clothes, which was strongly resisted by some, but continuously enforced. Upon this I called public attention (November 25, 1887) to certain historical facts—until then absolutely ignored. These were that prison garments had not been introduced to add to the ignominy of prison life, as supposed, but as a benefaction to poor prisoners unable to clothe themselves. Hence to force such clothes on others willing and able to clothe themselves violated the original intent of the Georgian Prisons' Act. As all the privileges of prisoners under the 109th Section of that Act were strictly preserved by the Victorian Act of 1877, which created the present system, the authorities were consequently exceeding their legal powers.* Mr. Balfour, referring to this statement, April, 1889, appointed a Committee, and the question of clothes was conceded.

What is a Political Offence?

Finally, I would call attention to the fact that an International Prison Conference was held in 1872, in the Hall of the Middle Temple, London. The Earl of Carnarvon was President. The Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce) welcomed the foreign visitors, and hoped the country "might learn something from their wide experience." The representative of the Italian Government, Count A. de Feresta, proposed that persons, guilty of offences not implying any great moral perversity, should be kept in simple detention, apart from common criminals. Dr. Marquardsen said the code adopted three years ago in Germany had recognised the principle—those assigned to *custodia honesta* were kept apart in a fortress or elsewhere and not obliged to work. All the foreign representatives present concurred, and the British manifestly assented, for the resolution was carried unanimously.

To the authorities cited, I may add that of Mr. James Bryce, then Professor of Civil Law at Oriel College, Oxford, now Ambassador at Washington, who wrote to me as follows in 1889:—

It is certainly not easy to find a satisfactory definition of a political offence, yet we all feel the difference between the ordinary criminal and those whose treatment you describe. Perhaps we may say that whenever the moral judgment of the community at large does not brand an offence as sordid and degrading, and does not feel the offence to be one which destroys its respect for the personal character of the prisoner, it may then be held that prison treatment ought to be different from that awarded to ordinary criminals. One reason for this view is that ordinary prison discipline is incomparably more severe and painful to the persons sentenced for offences of this nature than it is to the ordinary thief or forger. A sentence neminimally the same is really much harsher.

The result of that unequal pressure has been too completely proved in the case of the Fenian prisoners, by an abnormal record of paralysis, insanity, and death.

The Case for Suffragists.

It has been demonstrated, on authoritative testimony, that a distinction exists in principle between offences which are *mala in se* and those which are simply *mala prohibita*. It has been proved, by unquestionable evidence, that this distinction has been carried out in practice, and a chain of precedents show that simple detention—*custodia honesta*—has been accorded to those found guilty of the latter. This, then, has been the Constitutional custom of the Realm, as it is the authorised practice of civilised nations.

Is it not superfluous to state that these authorities and these precedents apply with equal, if not with greater, force when the offenders are women? It is not necessary that we should concur in their views, or approve of their action; we may dissent from both; but, if a sense of equity survive, we must claim that, in accordance with constitutional precedent and the custom of civilised nations, they shall be accorded *custodia honesta*—the punishment of simple detention. In a few years men will read with shame, as of some ineffable meanness, that honourable women were doomed to a felon's fate because of their political beliefs.

* On January 5th, 1888, I called attention to the fact that the Prison Act of 1855 (9 and 10 Vict., cap. 53) specially exempted prisoners of one month and under from wearing prison clothes.

NO VOTES FOR WOMEN—NO HOME RULE.

Unionist Press and Leaders Incite to Violence.

That there is one law for the Unionist Party and another law for the Suffragists is shown by the following extracts from speeches by Unionist leaders and from editorials in the Unionist Press. If these words had been spoken or written by Suffragists, criminal proceedings would quickly have been set on foot. When the inflammatory character of these utterances is taken in conjunction with the military drilling and the purchase of firearms which are known to be going on in Ulster, the contrast between the Government's leniency towards Unionists and harshness towards Suffragists becomes all the more disgraceful. While the W.S.P.U. leaders are awaiting trial on a criminal charge, and while Suffragist prisoners denied their rights as political offenders are being fed by force, Unionist leaders and editors are inciting to violence and sedition at their own sweet will. Equal leniency or equal severity as between Unionists and Suffragists must be the rule.

TWO MANIFESTOS.

We have received the following, signed by Mr. Cousins:—

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Indignation rules in the hearts of Irish women suffragists at the way the Liberal Government has ignored their demand for enfranchisement. Feelings of shame rise in us for the acquiescence of Mr. Redmond and his followers in our exclusion from the charter of self-government for which so many Irish women fought with passion and self-sacrifice. No self-respecting woman can be satisfied with any self-government Bill which makes her sex a disqualification for citizenship, and in standing out for an amendment enfranchising taxpaying Irish women the Irish Women's Franchise League is not working to wreck Home Rule, as Nationalists affect to believe, but is upholding the demand of all the patriots of the past to the right of the people to govern themselves. If we do not see to it that the "people" include women as well as men, we are only perpetuating the idea that woman is only property, not a person in her own right. We are quite certain from our own experience of meetings throughout the country that the Irish Members of Parliament do not in their recent actions represent Irish opinion on our demand, and our next step is to approach the National Convention to which the Home Rule Bill is to be submitted for judgment. We are sending a large Deputation to this Convention requesting an audience in order to bring our claim before the delegates then assembled. It is possible that official prejudice may deny us even this measure of justice, but the spectacle of a "National" Convention excluding the representations of more than half the nation will cause many to fear for the future of Ireland. Whatever happens, the Deputation will stand its ground, and will depudate its policy on the necessities of the moment.

We desire to lay special stress on the following points:—

(1) The Members of the Irish Party have taken the initiative in hostility to their fellow-countrywomen.

(2) The result of their hostility is to weaken, and in many cases actually alienate the support of women who have hitherto been ardent Home Rulers, and to harden the opposition of Unionist women to the Bill.

(3) They, and not we, were the declaimers of war, but we cheerfully pick up their challenge, and have no fear of the issue in our battle for right.

May we, through your columns, appeal to Irish women in England to join us in this Deputation, which must be as large and representative as possible?—Yours, &c.,

MARY E. COUSINS, Hon. Sec., I.W.F.L.

The following statement is from the office of the Irish League for Women's Suffrage, and is signed by Miss O'Connell Hayes, hon. secretary, on behalf of the League.

After careful consideration of their dual duty to Ireland as a whole and the rights of Irish women, the Irish League for Women's Suffrage feel it incumbent upon them strongly to condemn the concerted action of the Irish Nationalist Party in killing the Conciliation Bill.

Taking this as a declaration of hostility towards Women's Enfranchisement, and in view of the fact that no Home Rule measure for Ireland can be satisfactory which does not include citizen rights for women as well as for men, the Irish League for Women's Suffrage call upon all Irishwomen who are members of the United Irish League immediately to resign, and devote their energies and time to the fight for the enfranchisement of their sex.

It is particularly suggested that those women who have hitherto contributed to

the funds of the Irish Party should divert their subscriptions to the Irish Suffrage Societies until such time as Irishwomen obtain the Parliamentary franchise.

PROFESSOR KETTLE'S VIEWS.

The Irish Women's Franchise League have received from Professor T. M. Kettle, ex-M.P. for East Tyrone, a letter, in the course of which he says:—

"I am obliged to ask you to remove my name from the list of associates of your League. You can easily believe that it is with profound regret that I feel myself obliged to separate from an organisation which has done such honourable work for freedom. But the recent announcement of policy made on behalf of your League leaves me no choice. You have declared war on the Irish party. To me the Irish party remains the indispensable instrument of the political redemption of Ireland. . . .

"At the same time, you must not take me as approving or justifying their recent bewildering action with regard to the Conciliation Bill. Without a word said on their behalf, without any explanation vouchsafed, those members of the Party who had previously voted in favour of political freedom swung round, and either abstained from a critical division or actually reversed their previous votes. We are notified, through unofficial paragraphs in the newspapers, that this was 'good tactics.' It is always very poor tactics for the leaders of any just cause to garrott in the dark another just cause. But, taking the matter on a lower level, I confess, speaking as a Home Ruler, to amazement at a tactical stroke which consists in gratuitously provoking the hostility of a movement which might have been made not only neutral, but friendly. . . . It has been said that the Irish Party has no mandate from the country in favour of Woman Suffrage. That is true. But it is also true that the Irish Party has as yet no mandate as to the financial clauses, or the police clauses, or the 'safeguard' clauses of the Home Rule Bill. The country elected the Party to press forward in general terms the Home Rule idea; the country, functioning through the National Convention, now comes to scrutinise the detailed embodiment of that idea. The constitutional course for anyone holding my views is, therefore, to appeal to the National Convention. I propose to ask it, when considering the franchise clauses of the Home Rule Bill, to determine that the women of Ireland are not to be denied their due share in the political enfranchisement of their country."

SEDITION!

Mr. Bonar Law.

But I do not conceal from you that the peril with which you are threatened is very grave. . . . I say it to you with all solemnity, you must trust to yourselves. Once again you hold the pass for the Empire. You are a besieged city. Does not the picture of the past, the glorious past, with which you are so familiar, rise again before your eyes? The timid have left you your Lundy. They have betrayed you, but you have closed your gates. The Government by their Parliament Act have erected a boom against you, a boom to cut you off from the help of the British people—(Cries of "Never"). You will burst that boom. (Loud cheers.) Help will come, and when the crisis is over, men will say of you in words not unlike those once used by Pitt: "You have saved yourselves by your exertions, and you will save the Empire by your example." (Loud and prolonged cheers).—At Belfast, April 9, 1912.

Sir Edward Carson.

I tell you that when they are trying to force this Home Rule policy upon us by methods of this kind, it gives me the right to say: "Your Bill has no moral force, we will not accept it, and as you have treated us with fraud, if necessary, we will treat you with force."—At Belfast, April 10, 1912.

The Rt. Hon. F. E. Smith.

We are living at the present moment under revolutionary conditions, when the prerogatives of the Crown have been debauched and betrayed by men whose duty it is to protect, and under which an effective Second Chamber has been destroyed. I say plainly that I utterly decline to be bound, in my resistance to the programme of those who have been guilty of these constitutional outrages, within a strait-waistcoat of constitutional resistance. (Cheers). So far as Home Rule is concerned, I will shrink from nothing which will ensure that before it becomes law the electors will be given an opportunity of pronouncing upon it.—At Stratford-on-Avon, November 9, 1911.

Violence is always deplorable, so is bloodshed. Yet violence and bloodshed in Ulster would be incomparably a smaller misfortune than the cowardly acquiescence in a revolution, which, if consummated, will assuredly plunge the whole country in civil war.—From an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 29, 1912.

Mr. Walter Long.

Civil War may be necessary. It may be forced on the people in order to protect the rights and liberties of themselves and their successors.—At Belfast, January 4, 1910.

If they are going to put Lord Londonderry and Sir Edward Carson into the dock they will have to find one large enough to hold the whole of the Unionist Party. (Loud cheers.) We have heard from our Leader a speech that is a trumpet call to battle. The Government is discredited. (Hear, hear.) They are going to be guilty of conduct which will be criminal towards Great Britain and towards Ireland. We are going to try and arrest them, and prevent them from doing this evil thing. (Cheers.) With your help we shall win. (Renewed cheers.) We are not here to make protestations, but just to show Mr. Bonar Law

yesterday that they will never accept Home Rule, or consent to live under it, should undecide those who have been deluded by Liberal and Nationalist assurances that Home Rule will bring them peace. It will not bring them peace. It may but too likely bring them a sword.—April 10.

Morning Post.

Unionists will not shrink from any necessary action. In a supreme crisis, where the vital interests of the State are at stake, weapons must be used which are not employed in normal and quiet times.—April 9.

Have the members of the Government, we wonder, ever stopped to consider whether they are drifting. . . . They must know that if they persevere in their present course they are drifting straight towards civil war.—April 11.

The "Standard."

No votes will affect Ulster's determination not to be separated from the United Kingdom, of which it forms a part, its absolute refusal to obey the orders of a Nationalist Executive, which would be a cause run by the Separatists and the priests. Their resolution can only be overcome by force; and what force? Is the entire British Army to be mobilised to overcome the resistance of a population more numerous than the Boers of South Africa, more intelligent, more united, wealthier, better organised, inspired by a deeper conviction and a larger patriotism? The proceedings at Belfast make those at Westminster unreal. Ulster blocks the way. There can be no "national" Government of Ireland if the Protestants of the North refuse obedience to it.—April 10.

The "Daily Telegraph."

It suits Nationalists and Radicals to laugh at the idea that, as a last resort, Ulstermen will take up arms to maintain the Union; but that is what they will certainly do, let England make no mistake about it. And the war will be carried on with all the method, the purposefulness, and the determination which, applied to the ordinary affairs of life, have triumphed over a thousand difficulties and made the province of Ulster one of the richest and most generally prosperous in the Imperial Dominions.—April 9.

Ulster will not have Home Rule at any price. Her people are determined to resist it to the very end, be the end what it may, and there was no shrinking yesterday in the expression of that resolve. Nearly two hundred thousand Irish Unionists solemnly repeated after Sir Edward Carson, "Never under any circumstances will I submit to Home Rule." Sir Edward pledged himself anew that there should be no swerving and no compromise, and said that they would all be ready, when the time came, to protect themselves with their own right hand. Mr. Bonar Law, in one of the most stirring passages of a splendid fighting speech, told the vast host assembled before him, "It will be difficult, I think it will be impossible, to overcome your opposition." This is plain speaking. Those who know the temper of the North of Ireland will, if they are wise, take heed of the warning.—April 10.

NURSE PITFIELD.

Nurse Pitfield, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the second division at the Central Criminal Court on March 19 for her protest at the General Post Office, has been released from Holloway by order of the Home Secretary on account of the serious state of her health. She is now in a nursing home, where she is receiving every care and attention. Our readers will be interested to know that among the signatories to the petition to the Home Secretary which was being prepared on her behalf are the following:—The Rev. R. B. Lawson Oxton, Chaplain of Strand Union; the Rev. J. Victor H. Reade, Chaplain, West London District School, Ashford, Middlesex; the Rev. J. Armstrong Smyth, Chaplain, Lewisham Union; the Rev. Sydney Jackson, Chaplain, Holborn Schools; the Rev. F. W. Botheroyd, Chaplain, Mile End Infirmary; the Rev. W. J. Beechey, Chaplain, Lambeth Workhouse; the Rev. Edmund Geard, Chaplain, Camberwell Infirmary; and the Rev. Arthur S. Ingram, Rector of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, E.C.

RECEPTION TO DR. ETHEL SMYTH.

Several members of the Actresses' Franchise League (musical section) are arranging a reception and welcome breakfast to Dr. Ethel Smyth at the Inns of Court Hotel on April 29 at 9.30 a.m. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., may be had from the Hon. Sec., Beauchamp Lodge, Warwick Crescent, Maida Hill.

THE DUBLIN PARADE.

Miss Maud Lloyd asks us to say that the Poster Parade in Dublin on March 31 was led and organised throughout by Miss Hilda Webb. Many who saw the parade said that it was the "nicest turn-out in the day's proceedings."

Miss Emily Cecilia Duncan has been unanimously elected vice-chairman of the West Ham Board of Guardians for the ensuing year.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

The audience of men and women at the London Pavilion on Monday last were roused to indignant protest by the story of the brutal forcible feeding of women in Aylesbury Gaol. Through the quiet, gentle recital of the story by Dr. Frances Ede they could discern dimly the resentment aroused among the prisoners by the unjust refusal to accord them the rights of political prisoners; the brave, quiet resolution to carry out the hunger strike, the unflagging conquest of bodily weakness, and finally the horrible subjection to forcible feeding. "Worse than the hunger, the pain, the sleeplessness, or the anxiety," said Dr. Ede, "were the horrible cries from the cells. I am a medical woman, and yet I never heard anything so terrible." Dr. Ede's statement will be found on page 451, and, reading it, we can agree with her that no one could ever reach the limit of the pluck of the women of this Union.

It was sad that such a story had to be told before a visitor to this country, Mrs. May Wright Sewell. Shame to Englishmen that she should have been driven to express pity for this stain upon their honour! In a speech which lifted the movement from the small bounds of time and place, she traced the growth of mankind towards a human solidarity which would take its rise at the ballot-box and move onward to wider, nobler ends.

Miss Annie Kenney (in the chair) referred to the attitude of the Women's Social and Political Union towards the Irish Party and the Home Rule Bill, and said that until women obtained a definite pledge from the Government their attitude would be one of opposition. The Government would be asked, she said, to insert in the Home Rule Bill a clause granting the Parliamentary vote to women under the new Constitution. If they refused to do this, then women would know what to do; they would oppose the Home Rule Bill by every means in their power. "If we cannot have Home Rule for women, we will not have Home Rule for men," she said. Miss Kenney concluded by asking the members of the audience to write to Members of Parliament expressing their indignation at the treatment of the Suffragists in Aylesbury Prison. "In the absence of our leaders," she said, "let us fight for the women who are behind prison doors and who cannot fight for themselves." Miss Kenney then read the following resolution:

"That this meeting protests against the continued refusal of the Home Secretary to accord to the women suffragists, sentenced in connection with the political demonstrations of last March, the status of political prisoners.

"It expresses its admiration for the courage shown by the women in Aylesbury in adopting the heroic hunger strike as a protest against the refusal; and views with horror the attempt to coerce them into submission by a recourse to the cruel and dangerous practice of forcible feeding.

"It further pledges itself to do everything in its power to expose this disgraceful action of the Government so as to put an end to this treatment, and to secure for political prisoners the conditions which they obtain in all other civilised countries of the world."

The resolution was seconded by Dr. Frances Ede, who gave an account of her experience during the Hunger Strike at Aylesbury. Her account will be found on page 451.

Mrs. May Wright Sewell, a distinguished American who is on a visit to England, spoke of the human aspect of the woman's movement. It was, she said, not merely a political revolution, not merely a social revolution, not merely the expression of an economic revolution; it was all these for women, and consequently for men. And underlying it was something even greater—a great moral revolution for men, too; their subjection to their sex egotism, their subjection to their passions. It was that which had really compelled women to the revolution in which they were engaged, and not until that revolution had accomplished its purpose would the end they had in view be reached. Mrs. Sewell spoke, too, of the solidarity of women. In the past women of all countries, of all classes, had had the solidarity of subjection; now there would be the solidarity of freedom and of liberty. Speaking of the methods employed in English prisons towards the women suffragists, she rejoiced that so far that humiliation had not come to any American man. Her message in her last suffrage speech during this visit to England was that the ballot-box was but the first goal on a long road of human development. The ballot-box would be looked back to as the mark where the great mass of nations took their step to march to the great hymn of human progress.

Mrs. Mansel, in a very interesting speech, said she felt that the Government was putting the last nail into its coffin. Women would fight against the Government with greater energy and force than ever. They had made the last truce with the Government until women were enfranchised. During the Easter recess she had taken a kind of review of the political situation. She felt more and more

how justified they were in putting complete trust and confidence in the leaders of the Union. Whether the leaders were behind prison doors or whether they were in Persia, or America, or at Twickenham their spirit would be leading the members, who could place complete confidence in them.

The resolution was carried with great enthusiasm.

FANATICISM OR FIDELITY?

Whatever else may come out of the present crisis, it is proving a magnificent tribute to woman's faithfulness and power of self-sacrifice. Miss Christabel Pankhurst has not yet been found, owing, say the authorities, "to the fanatical loyalty of her friends." When Flora Macdonald aided Bonnie Prince Charlie to elude his captors, her action was not so described; our children, learning the history of the nations to-day, are taught to look to her for an example of courage and fidelity. The harlot Rahab, who hid the spies, won an eternal place among the heroes of Holy Writ by her fanatical loyalty—only in the Bible it is called not fanaticism but faith. Miss Pankhurst's personality must have a peculiar charm; women are not wont to worship a woman as this girl is worshipped by thousands of her followers to-day; clever, daring, witty, defiant, imperturbably good-humoured, she leads them all alike, young and old. "Mad," says the world. So Festus said to Paul. It is ever the madman who has made the world a saner and a safer place for others to live in. The Englishman's sympathies are always with the fugitive; thousands of men who approve not the methods are secretly admiring her pluck, and hoping with all their hearts that she will not be hunted down. Hail to thee, blithe spirit, whereso'er thou art! We, who trusted that our more peaceful and law-abiding methods are they that should have delivered us, are wondering whether, after all, we are being, as you told us, betrayed.—*Methodist Times*.

THE BROAD OUTLOOK.

"A Rhodesian" writes to the *Standard (Woman's Platform)*:

"In my country a woman 'counts' whether she is a nursing mother or not, but the fact that she will be considered a valuable asset to the country is not likely to cure her of her suffrage convictions. Therefore, let anti-suffragists cease to recommend emigration and marriage abroad from this point of view.

"May I say that as a Cape Colonist of the third generation, and more lately a wife and mother, in Rhodesia, having done strenuous pioneer work in that country since it was seven years old, I believe in the principle of 'votes for women' as ardently as any industrial or professional woman worker in England, whether 'incomplete' or otherwise? Of course, we want your surplus women abroad, as many as you can spare; both men and women in Rhodesia will welcome all the courageous Englishwomen that can join us. It was a revelation to me that Englishwomen were mobbed the other day in Oxford Circus, and no one protested, and the opinions of womanhood expressed by certain anti-suffragists make me want to see them, too, transported to British Colonies, where they would receive an object-lesson showing them the share that civilisation owes to women—a point which is apt to be forgotten in older countries where you have all been comfortable too long.

"Emigration may cure anti-suffragists; the open-air life might even drive the bees out of Sir Almroth Wright's bonnet; but let no one think that the ennobling and constructive task of Empire building, the



"URSULA"

This charming Dress is of Glace Silk, trimmed with double row of silk buttons and frills of pleated tulle at neck and wrists.

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WHITELEYS
QUEEN'S ROAD, LONDON, W

EAST NOTTINGHAM BY-ELECTION.

Polling Day, April 19th.

W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham.

W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Burgis.

Candidates.

Sir John D. Rees..... (U)

T. M. Dobson..... (L)

Result of General Election 1910:—Capt. J. A. Morrison (U), 6,274; D. Stewart Smith, K.C. (L), 4,804. Unionist majority, 1,470.

The resignation of Capt. Morrison (U) has caused a Parliamentary vacancy in East Nottingham. The W.S.P.U. was early in the field, and is carrying on a vigorous anti-Government campaign. Miss Burgis, who has given up her Easter holidays for the purpose of helping, is in charge, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Naylor, Mrs. Pertwee, and Miss Douglas Smith are among the speakers. The Suffragettes have been splendidly received by the electors, who have shown great understanding of the women's position. Many excellent meetings have been held, and the local Press is giving generous reports. The W.S.P.U. has issued a manifesto calling upon the electors, if they wish to bring this struggle to an end, to save public property from destruction and women from violence, imprisonment, torture, and the risk of death to vote against the Liberal candidate as the nominee of a Government that still refuses justice to women.

MR. URE'S LIBERALISM.

On April 15 Mr. Ure spoke at the Free Trade Prize Distribution at Birmingham. Several Suffragists were present, but on receiving an assurance from Mr. Ure that he would answer their questions at the close of the meeting they refrained from interrupting his speech. The question put was: "Will Mr. Ure use his influence as a member of the Government to put a stop to the forcible feeding of women imprisoned for fighting for liberty?" Mr. Ure replied: "The only way of putting an end to forcible feeding is by taking to rational feeding. (Laughter.) The women are not in prison because they are fighting for liberty, but because they have broken the law." Further questions were then asked, which Mr. Ure refused to answer, the questioners being forcibly ejected.



A POSTER PARADE OUTSIDE THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Block kindly lent by the Daily Graphic.

OUR POST BOX.

A REVOLTING WORKER TO HIS REVOLTING SISTERS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

I have long desired to write a letter to VOTES FOR WOMEN, but the calls and worries of a somewhat strenuous life as Trade Union organiser and Socialist agitator have hitherto prevented the realisation of my desire. Now, however, when you have experienced a set-back in Parliament, and when all the trimmers, compromisers, and treacherous friends (?) of Woman Suffrage are eagerly availing themselves of the opportunity to disown you and repudiate your militancy, I feel that it is no longer merely a pleasure but has become a duty to add my little tribute of praise and encouragement to you in your fight.

You broke windows, possibly of some smug friend of the Cause! What outrageous action! But when did men at war refrain from firing upon a hostile army lest some friend might be reposing in the tents of their opponents? Broke windows, did you! Dear women, I wish you could barricade the Strand, blow up London Bridge and dislocate the trade of the British Empire until you could force your rulers to listen to the voice of progress.

I do not know how you reason it out, but to me the matter stands thus: Women are not considered as citizens or citizenesses: they are outside the pale, required to obey laws they have no voice in making, and to submit to rulers they have no voice in electing. Hence they are truly in a state of outlawry. Now, being outlaws, why should they be expected to obey the laws or respect the conventions of the society that insists upon their outlawry?

Women are well advised to pay scant respect to the advice of their male friends in this matter. The iron of slavery has entered into the souls of some women and fired them with a fanaticism that mere "friends" of reform can neither understand nor appreciate; yet this very fanaticism has always a sustaining power to the soul and an illuminating power to the mental vision of those possessed by it. Women, respect that fanatical fury! If you value your cause avoid as you would the plague the cold counsels of the moderate sympathiser. A poor, slum-bred proletarian, I raise my hat in thanksgiving that I have lived to see this insurrection of the women. It is the most hopeful and glorious sign of our day. I am organising in Belfast an Irish Textile Workers' Union for the poor women slaves of the mills and factories, and from the bottom of my heart I wish I could infuse into those women one spark of that fire of revolt which fired their more fortunate and more heroic sisters who broke the windows in London to demonstrate their determination to be free.

Let the trimmers and compromisers and cautious ones babble their babblings; be you true to the faith within you! Illumined by that faith, the cells of Holloway are more glorious mansions than the walls of luxury would be if enjoyed as the price of tame acquiescence in the bondage of your sex. What sane woman in the future will hesitate in deciding whether the most glorious vision was vouchsafed to a petted darling among the Antis on some mountain top, or to the mental eve of a harassed Suffragette in a cell at Holloway?—Yours, &c.,

JAMES CONNOLLY.

1, Glenalina Terrace, Falls Road, Belfast.

A SHAM?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The chief fact which impresses those of us who, living temporarily on the Continent, are watching with the keenest interest the present crisis in suffrage, is the manner and the tone which prevail in the court room. To those who have been brought up to revere English Law and English jurists, the insolent manner of address, the familiar vulgarity with which the magistrates interrogate the ladies brought before them are a revelation. Have we, we ask ourselves, revered a sham? Are the Germans right when they assert—as one wrote not long ago—that "the British fetish, gentlemanhood, is merely another name for hypocrisy"? Or have British jurists deliberately stepped down from the standards of the great profession to which they belong, and intentionally dishonoured it?—Yours, &c.,

A. MAYNARD BUTLER.

Berlin, April 10.

A MAN'S VIEW.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The members of the House of Commons who have withdrawn their support of the Conciliation Bill seem wilfully blind to the fact that no action on the part of women can possibly affect the justice of the demand. Women may be out to break windows, but the Government is out to break the spirit of the women, and it can't be done. I have been closely in touch with this movement for over a year, and I am confident that the indomitable spirit at the back of it cannot be broken. It is the spirit of devotion to a great and noble cause, the spirit of self-

sacrifice and the deathless demand for justice, that fills me with such unbounded admiration.

Would men sit down quietly under the injustice of taxation without the vote? All men know that they would not tolerate it for a moment. Would they be content with breaking windows? No! there would be bloody revolution all over the country immediately, and I, for one, should be in it. Have not constitutional methods failed lamentably to convince prejudice, selfishness, and bigotry? Is it any wonder that the patience of the women should have worn thin at last? It is a situation that has got to be faced, and dealt with by the Government before worse happens, and for what may, or may not, happen, the Government alone will be responsible.

Mr. Bernard Shaw said in a speech in London recently that "No sane man will look to the Government for reason and justice," and he spoke truth. Apathy, as well as prejudice, have ever been the foes of advancement, so strong is the reluctance to change, so great the pain of a new idea, so dominant the power of feeling over reason. I, at least, will not be numbered among those who deliberately attempt to set back the clock of political evolution, and it is because I am for the cause of the weak against the strong, it is because I believe that the enfranchisement of women will assuredly mean the raising and purifying of the nation and national politics, and, above all, because I love justice, that I am "out" for the Women's Cause, even if every man in England were against it.—Yours, &c.,

POYNTE WRIGHT.
Middle Hill, Weekday Cross, Nottingham.

ST. PAUL DEFENDED.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—Last year, when I was working in London and occasionally had the privilege of speaking at Suffrage meetings held by the various societies, I frequently came across the view that the Bible strongly taught the subordinate position of woman. St. Paul especially came in for a good deal of censure, and, as I would suggest, quite undeservedly. I always feel myself that the imperfections we notice in the Old Testament, which was written almost all the way through by men considerably in advance of their respective generations, show us more clearly than anything else the need of the higher conceptions in the New, and the careful student of the Bible may notice that the higher the revelation man received of God's character the higher the honour paid to womanhood. In Christ people recognise that the ideal was reached in this matter, but it is often felt that St. Paul was somewhat retrograde. This is probably due to the fact that some of his letters to definite communities, written in reply to certain particular questions from those communities, contain advice which he thought suited to the particular occasions. To say from these statements that he sanctioned the subordinate position of women is scarcely fair. Another text I have often heard quoted against St. Paul is 1 Cor. xi. 2: "The head of the woman is the man." I confess that at first sight these words seem to have only one possible significance, but "authority" is beginning at the present time to have a meaning with which our grandfathers were not familiar, but a meaning which Christ and St. Paul both understood very clearly. To our grandfathers the word "authority" almost implied the arbitrary right of one individual to treat another as he pleased. To Christ, to St. Paul, to some in authority in Governments at the present time, to all, it may be hoped, in the Governments of the future the word implies the obligation and privilege of one individual to do all in his power for those over whom he may be placed. The difference is enormous.

I would now point out that the words "the head of the woman is the man" immediately follow the words "the head of every man is Christ." If these two sentences are taken together in their context it will be clear that man in his attitude to woman is to emulate Christ's attitude to man. Surely this is no base ideal!

NEW READERS WANTED!

The tale of shame and dishonour that is told in this issue about the brutal forcible feeding of women political prisoners should be spread far and wide. It is another black chapter in the terrible record of a Liberal Government, a record that can be followed from week to week only in the pages

Previously acknowledged 67
Mrs. A. Coulter 1
Mrs. A. M. Calow 1
Miss H. W. Dulles 2
Mrs. L. Henderson 1
Miss G. Le Geyt 1
Miss E. C. Moir 1
Miss Irene Watson 1
Mrs. Buckley 1
Miss E. Bowerman 1
Miss F. Balfour 2
Miss F. Boyd 6
Lady Brassey 2
Miss M. E. Cunningham 1
Miss C. C. Cooke 1

Mrs. A. Coulter 1
Miss A. M. Calow 1
Miss H. W. Dulles 2
Mrs. L. Henderson 1
Miss G. Le Geyt 1
Miss E. C. Moir 1
Miss Irene Watson 1
Mrs. Buckley 1
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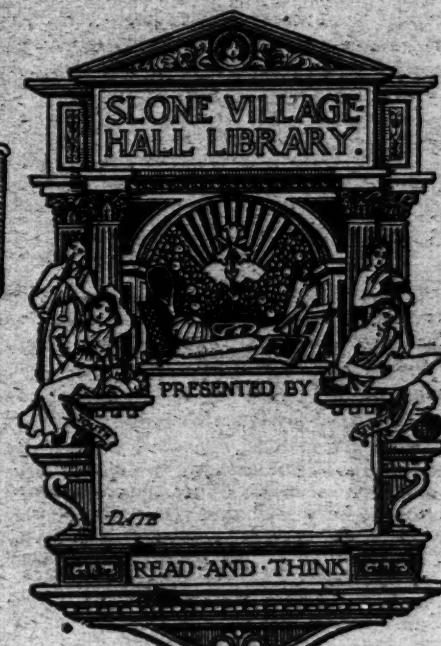


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HENRY K. WARD, 49, Great Portland Street, London, W.

I suppose it is gradually becoming recognised that the three things that hinder the evolution of the human race are race and colour prejudice, the inequality of sex, and the differences between capital and labour. In St. Paul's day the prejudices between Jew and Gentile correspond with the race and colour prejudice of to-day, the struggle between "bond and free" correspond with our struggle between capital and labour. The question of male and female equality had never come up as a practical question, but St. Paul was idealist enough to see that none of these prejudices and inequalities were part of the divine scheme for the world, and at the end of Galatians, chapter 3, he made this statement which one could not but admire if it had been made in the 20th century, but when we realise that it was written in about the year 48 A.D. we cannot but be astounded. The words are these: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

To remove these artificial divisions is the object of those who are now working for International Peace, for the Emancipation of Womanhood, and for the welfare of the labouring classes—St. Paul's programme!

I have to-day been reading a little book which has just reached me in my log shack a few miles from the Klondyke Trail. It is entitled "Christ and Labour," and in the eleven Labour Members, whose speeches were delivered in Browning Hall during the second Labour week, all avow that they intend to use their "authority" to give statutory effect to the principles

of Christ's teaching; and I believe it would be more fair to St. Paul to say that he has sketched out the lines on which this may be effective than to regard him as one who would lend his sanction to old customs out of which we are rapidly growing, such as the subordinate position of women. Yours, &c.,

(Rev.) W. L. SEYMOUR DALLAS, M.A.
Paddle River, Alberta, N.W. Canada.

OF CECILIA.

Who left her Home to go to Meetings, and so fell from Grace.

Cecilia, as her name denotes, Would never shriek and scream for Votes. She could locate a Woman's Sphere In language womanly, but clear— The place her Days may best be spent (For which some Man may pay the Rent). It is not right that She should mix In Pan-Imperial politics.

—All this, and more, Cecilia knew. Man said so, and it must be true. One day a Lady came to Tea, Most womanly she seemed to be. She spoke of Awful Things and Dire That must ensue when Men retire And Women scorn their Sacred Sway And simply Vote and Vote all day. She asked Cecilia, ill-starred maid, To Venture forth, if not afraid, Where Antigettes their Revels hold, These timid Ladies, self-controlled And wholly Meek, who yet could claim The Power to save their sex from Shame And all the soul-destroying Shocks Begotten of the Ballot-box.

Oh, how can I the Sequel write? While Tears of Shame bedim my sight— Disasters, Awful, Unforeseen, Befell Cecilia. Had she been Content, within her Homely Field Her magic Influence to wield, Perchance they never had occurred

—But Truth will out—The opening Word Of that Great Meeting scarce was said When poor Cecilia, blushing red, Gave forth that Word—ne'er spoke before— Which shook the Hall from Roof to Floor, And told her Lost for Evermore!

—I may as well explain as not Cecilia simply shouted "Rot!" And Fleeing from their outraged sight (Again I tremble as I write) Became, to all her Friends' regret, A Hopeless, Reasoned, Suffragette, And Labours in that Den of Sin Anew the Strand—4, Clement's Inn.

MORAL.
The Moral's clear in every Word, The "Anti" should be Seen, not Heard. —M. E. W.

TEACHERS AND THE VOTE.

The question of Woman Suffrage was again discussed by the National Union of Teachers at their Congress this Easter, and as was the case last year, there was a very heated debate. The *Yorkshire Observer* refers to Woman Suffrage as "the grand bone of contention at Aberystwyth" in 1910, and as "the question hotly discussed by local associations throughout the year," and, again, as "the dividing whirlwind at Hull." "No man," it says, "could hold the storm: it broke with the violence of a north-easterly gale. Again and again the meeting was stopped by rival cries and calls. Shouts and tumult followed. The assembly heaved with cross winds and currents of feeling, churned like an angry sea." Eventually the previous question was carried, and the subject was once more shelved as far as the Congress is concerned. But we shall be greatly disappointed if the women teachers, who are in an enormous majority as members of the N.U.T., allow the question to remain where it is.

When the conference arrived at the motion in favour of the Parliamentary Franchise for Women, it was hailed with deafening applause.

Miss Isabel Cleghorn, M.A., ex-President, moved the following resolution:—

That this conference expresses its sympathy with those members of the National Union of Teachers who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it.

She remarked that there were three reasons given last year why the suspension of standing orders should not be carried so that this resolution might be discussed, viz., that the motion had been sprung upon the executive; that the associations had not had the opportunity of discussing it, and that this was a political question and should not be discussed by the National Union of Teachers.

This year they could not advance these reasons. The associations had discussed the motion, and the result was that the motion was now sent forward by 17,062 votes for its discussion and 6,728 votes against it. (Applause.)

Parliamentary Influence.

In addition, the associations had sent it up as No. 3 among the resolutions to be discussed by the conference. With reference to the argument that it was a political question, she said the conference would agree that the Parliamentary influence of their union was one of their greatest assets. (Applause.) They were continually in their association meetings and in their conferences discussing politics. They had not only discussed the question of the franchise, but they had expended union money on obtaining the franchise for members who resided in school houses. (Applause.) Then in the past they had discussed Education Bills.

It seemed to her that if their political power—and they had political power—depended upon the vote, then if they were going to add more of their members as voters it must increase their political power. (Applause.)

"Women were earning their own living. They were teaching in the schools of the country; they had to teach the children citizenship, loyalty, patriotism, and all that was necessary to make them good citizens in the future, and yet they had not the power of the vote which made for the good of the country, in the making of its laws." (Applause.)

Mr. Dakers, Vice-President, seconded the resolution, and amidst cries of dissent reserved his remarks.

The Previous Question.

Mr. A. E. Cook (N.W. London) was loudly cheered on rising to move "the previous question." He belonged, he said, to a large association in connection with which was an active ladies' committee, and they unanimously decided that it was no part or parcel of the work of the National Union of Teachers to interfere in this question. One of the objects of the Union was "to associate and unite the teachers," and yet this resolution would bring disunion. Another object was to extend the influence and dignity of the profession.

The only clause of their objects, said Mr. Cook, which touched the question was that which referred to the securing of effective representation of educational interests in Parliament. (Applause.) But this was not an educational question. It was absolutely a political question. (Applause.)

"Never the Time and the Place . . ."
Mrs. Burgwin (London) seconded. She said that all the arguments, all the sophistries of the suffrage associations dissolved when she thought of the actualities of life as she knew them. (Loud and prolonged applause and a cry of "Traitor.") She had been naked if her position was not illogical. She reminded the conference that she had had to oppose logical things before when common-sense did not support them. It was no argument at all to say that because men had a vote women should have a vote too. What women were to have the vote? (Cries of "That's the question," and interruptions from some young women delegates, whom Mrs. Burgwin addressed as "My

dear girls," a description which created great laughter.) They might soon be happy wives, but they would commence their married life with a grievance. They would say, "See what I have had to give up. I am not fit to have the vote now." (Laughter and dissent.)

"I have a personal grievance," said Mrs. Burgwin. "We have had a Government that would have carried social reform, remedying evils burning to be remedied—(Applause)—but that Government has been hampered and hindered by these—(Loud applause and cries of dissent, which drowned the last words of the sentence.)

"And this," added Mrs. Burgwin, "at a time when men's passions might have been easily aroused. It was the duty of my sex at that time to preach 'Peace.' (Loud applause, and a voice, "Peace with Honour.") Because her sex, her womanhood, and her motherhood convinced her that that was not the time, nor was it opportune, to give votes to women, she opposed the resolution. (Loud applause.)

"Proud of it."

Mr. Alan Croft said he was the man responsible in the first instance for the appearance of that motion on the conference agenda, and he was proud of it. Mr. Cook had missed out the very object of the N.U.T. which was the justification for the appearance of that motion on the conference agenda. (Applause.) Object No. 5 was to secure effective representation of educational interests in Parliament. He was going to ask them to consider that question without prejudice. (Hear, hear.) What better way could be devised of increasing the effective representation of educational interests in Parliament than by largely augmenting the number of voters amongst the ranks of the members of the N.U.T.? (Applause.)

Women and the Parliamentary Fund.

The women members of the N.U.T. provided the greater part of their Parliamentary Fund. (Hear, hear.) Over £4,000 went every year into the Fund directly from the pockets of the women members of the Union. (Applause.)

Mr. Dakers pointed out that if there was one department of social life in which women had a special interest, it was in the department of the home. Therefore, he claimed that women had a special interest—(A voice: "In the home")—in the laws and regulations which governed the instruction of their children. Children were the shuttlecocks of the party politicians. With their special interest in the welfare of the children, who were a part of the home, women would make a much better case of it.

The Voting.

The previous question was put, and carried by an overwhelming majority on a show of hands. A division was demanded, and ordered to be taken. The result was declared later in the day, as follows:—

For previous question	36,225
Against	22,284
Majority for	13,941

THE W.S.P.U. AT HULL.

Miss Mary Phillips reports that the special campaign amongst the delegates came to an end on Thursday with a well-filled and highly-enthusiastic meeting, addressed by Miss Nancy Lightman and Miss Mary Phillips, and presided over by Mrs. F. Anderson. The following resolution was carried with only five dissentients:—

"That this meeting calls upon the Government immediately to give the vote to women on the same terms as men, in order that they may have a voice in educational legislation."

VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well all through the Conference, and many thousands of leaflets were distributed day by day. The local union rallied splendidly to the help of the organiser, and several of the delegates also helped towards the success of the campaign. The collection at the meeting amounted to £2 2s. 10d. Further donations towards the expenses of the campaign will be gladly received by the organiser, at 3, Cookridge Street, Leeds.

The local secretary for Hull, Miss B. Trill (105, Colman Street), reports that Miss Smith and Mrs. Marshall secured twenty-six new local subscribers.

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

A demonstration of protest against the sentences passed upon Suffragists and the denial of political recognition is being organised by a committee representing the following societies: Church League for Women's Suffrage, Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, Women's Freedom League, Women's Tax Resistance League, Women Writers' Suffrage League, Men's Political Union, Men's League for Women's Suffrage, and others. The Demonstration will be held in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 21, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Duggdale Duval, Miss J. Dugdale, Mrs. Malcolm Mitchell, The Rev. C. Hinscliff, and others. Particulars from Mr. Victor D. Duval, M.P.U., 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

BALHAM AND TOOTING.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. D. J. Cockridge, 12, Foxbourne Road, Balham, S.W.

A well-attended meeting was held in the "Bijou Hall," Balham High Road, on the 12th, when Miss Winifred Mayo spoke. Chair, Mrs. Tyson, of Streatham. The collection amounted to £8. 10d.

BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Sue Watt, 12, Stratford Road.

A very successful meeting was held in Church End, Finchley, on Saturday, April 13. The speakers were Miss Phyllis Ayrton and Miss Trims, and many papers were sold. hearty thanks to Mrs. Westoly and company for their valuable help. Barnet members please help at to-morrow's meeting (see programme), as it is the first held in North Finchley. The local Press published this week the whole statement on the Conciliation Bill and Political Situation. It is hoped that members will make a point of buying the paper (issued Friday, April 12), in order to read the statement and make it known generally. A meeting will be held in the Church Parsonage, Ewell Hall, Barnet, on Wednesday, May 1, at 8 p.m., to welcome Miss Madge Spanton on her release after two months' imprisonment. Speakers: Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Miss Spanton. Tickets, price sixpence, should be applied for at once at above address, as accommodation is limited. Will members who have not already done so please reply to the secretary's circular (re subscription and Self-Denial cards) at once?

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss K. Gargett, 4, Stowford Road, Palmer's Green, N.

Members must make an effort to bring all their friends to our prisoners' welcome on the 27th. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has promised to come, and it is hoped that Lady Stout will also be present. Miss Winifred Mayo, Mrs. Frank Witty, and Miss Rosa Leo (if well enough) have very kindly promised their services. Tickets may be had from the above address at 1s. each.

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office—308, King's Road. Hon. Secs.—Miss Haig and Miss Blacklock. Tel., 2858 Kensington.

We are glad to report three new members, Mrs. and Miss Lambert and Miss Archer. There are still numbers of leaflets to be delivered to Chelsea women housewives, and we should be glad of volunteers to finish the work. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Lambert, 8s.

CHORLEY WOOD.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Offer. Hon. Tres.—Mrs. Colin Campbell.

Members are asked to concentrate on making our next hotel meeting (26th) a great success. We want a crowded audience to welcome Mrs. Pertwee and Mrs. Mansell-Moulin on that occasion. The hon. sec. appeals to every member to make herself responsible for getting one new reader of our paper. Two paper-sellers wanted for Rickmansworth and Chorley Wood Stations on Fridays. Who will volunteer?

CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Strong, 84, Elspeth Road, Lavender Hill, S.W.

The meetings on the common recommence on Sunday, April 21 (see programme). Members please come to support the meeting, to sell papers, and distribute leaflets. The fortnightly meetings at the New Gild Hall will be discontinued until the autumn. Jumble parcels are urgently needed. They can be sent to the secretary, or Mrs. Bateson, 77, Manchurian Road, West Side, Clapham Common. Will anyone willing to help attend the workers' meeting? (See programme.)

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.

Shop—905, Fulham Road. Hon. Secs.—Miss L. Cutten and Mrs. Roberts.

Outdoor meetings recommence to-night (Friday) at 8 p.m. Stewards should be at the shop at 7.30. The Annual Members' Meeting will take place next Friday, the 26th, at 7 p.m. Tickets for the reception to-morrow, 2s. 6d. each, can be obtained at the shop.

A WORD TO THE RANK AND FILE.

"I like a clamour whenever there is a grievance. The fire-bell wakes you at midnight, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed."—BURKE.

The impressive procession of Honorary Treasurers, as it filed past the platform on the night of the Albert Hall meeting, must have demonstrated to many the strength of the Women's Social and Political Union, as apart from its vigorous central organization. The work of the local unions has never been more important than at the present moment, when all the forces of reaction and snobbery have been called out by the courageous action of the women now suffering in prison, to whom broken glass seemed a little thing to set against the broken lives of sweated women and white slaves.

Now is the time to educate public opinion! People, hitherto indifferent, have been puzzled, shocked, even outraged by the recent militant protest. So much the better!

The fire-bell has done ringing; the public is still rubbing its eyes and asking what it is all about. It is the business of every member of the Union to be answering that question up and down the British Isles. In every war, it is as important to show initiative and resource after the battle as it is to show courage while the fight is going on. Every Suffragette in the Empire should make herself a centre of propaganda in these weeks of crisis. The sun never sets on the British Empire. We cannot yet say that it never sets on voteless women, for we have a Liberal Government still with us. Let us at least be able to say that it never sets on those who are bent on winning votes for the women of the Empire.

Speaking on public platforms, at street corners, in drawing-rooms, is all to the good. So is writing to the Local Press to correct the errors of the Sir Almroth Wrights of the provinces. Both speakers and writers will find powder and shot for their campaign in the pages of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. (We will endeavour not to keep our powder too dry.) This week, for instance, the Outlook, the leader, the page headed "Sedition!" are all full of facts to be used in dealing with political antagonists; and the admirable article on prison treatment by that great authority, Dr. Sigerson, will refute the arguments of those who seek to support the Government in its persecution of the suffragist prisoners.

As in all Revolutions, it is impossible for everybody to take part in the great fight for women's freedom. The ordinary business of life has to be carried on, though the skies fall (and though Governments unfortunately do not). But nobody is too busy to learn the truth; and the public that has no time to work actively in the militant movement can find time to hear about it. It is this public that has been awakened by the ringing of the fire-bell. Let the members of the Women's Social and Political Union win it over before it goes to sleep again!

GREENWICH, DEPTFORD, & WOOLWICH.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath, S.E.

Miss Lacey, 26, Woolwich Common, is kindly lending her rooms for an At Home to welcome Miss Billinghurst on her release from prison. Will members turn up in full force and bring their friends? (See programme.) Many thanks to Miss Gregory for doing double duty paper-selling during the holiday week.

HACKNEY.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. F. W. Jones, 39, Fembury Road.

All members are earnestly requested to attend the annual general meeting, to be held on Saturday, April 20. (See programme.) Election of officers and committee will take place, and suggestions for the carrying out of a vigorous summer campaign are invited. Helpers are urgently needed.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop—95, The Grove. Hon. Sec.—Miss Earle.

Many thanks to all who so generously contributed to the shop fund and so vigorously helped at the jumble sale. The jumble receipts are £3. Another jumble sale will be held at the end of May. Please begin to make up parcels. More help is needed at the shop and for paper-selling. Meetings at 8.30 p.m. on Tuesday evenings.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—178, Finchley Road.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier.

A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held last Saturday, by the kindness of Mrs. Hicks, to protest against the long sentences and disgraceful treatment meted out to Suffragette prisoners. The splendid speeches of Mrs. Saul Solomon and Mr. Joseph Clayton were much appreciated, and a record collection taken. Chair, Mrs. Bull. A public protest meeting will be held at the Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, on Monday, April 29, at 8 p.m., when Miss Adamson and Dr. Helen Hanson have promised to speak. As the time available for working the meeting is so short, every member is asked to sell as many tickets as possible, also to distribute bills, &c. A series of drawing-room meetings is also being arranged. Miss G. Brackenbury addressed a large audience on Hampstead Heath last Sunday. (See programme.) Paper-seller wanted for Friday morning in Hampstead.

ISLINGTON.

Office—347, Goswell Road, E.C. Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casserley.

Special canvassers are needed immediately, also paper-sellers for the open-air meetings. Will members call at the office any Wednesday evening for instructions, or write to the secretary and make an appointment for any other evening?

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel., 2116 Western. Hon. Sec.—Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Now that the holidays are over, it is hoped that members will concentrate on selling the paper, and holding or obtaining drawing-room meetings as much as possible. Another meeting for people engaged in business has been arranged for Tuesday evening, April 23, to which all are cordially invited (see programme). Two new members are gladly welcomed. Mrs. K. Beauchamp and Mrs. E. Haigh, who has kindly offered to give tea to paper-sellers on High Street pitch, also to hold a drawing-room meeting. New paper-seller, Miss Raye. Thanks to Miss S. J. Ogilvie for donation of 1s.

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Org. Sec.—Mrs. Dacre Fox. Office—13, Union Street, Kingston-on-Thames.

The meetings at the Coronation Stone draw enormous crowds, and the paper sales have been doubled. The stall in the market-place continues to be the centre of attraction to the public, and literature, &c., has sold rapidly. Miss Tristram is specially thanked for her kind offer of drawing-rooms for Miss Brailsford's meeting at Hampton in May. Gratefully acknowledged:—Miss Stewart, 2s.; Mrs. Bristow, 2s. 6d.; Miss Gornall, 6d.; Lady Ernestine Hunt, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Vallance, 2s.; Mr. Pike, 1s.; Mrs. Beatty, 2s.; Mrs. Burton, 2s.; Mrs. Kendrew, 2s.; Miss Griffiths, 1s., and hand-painted postcards; Miss Worts, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Latham, profit on sweets, 2s.; Miss Stewart and Mrs. Latham for gifts of home-made sweets; Miss B. B. Worts for generous gift of cheque for poster of Surbiton Station, and all members' parcels for jumble sale, which has been fixed for Saturday, April 27. Further particulars next week. All are urged to make a special effort to attend the meeting to-night! (See programme.) Paper-seller wanted for Friday morning in Kingston.

LEWISHAM.
Office—2a, Loampit Vale, Lewisham. Hon. Secs.—Miss Christina Campbell, Miss G. Townsend.

Gratefully acknowledged.—Per Mrs. Bouvier, 2s.; Miss Godfrey, 1s.; Miss Okey, 2s. Will members volunteer for the poster parade on Saturday, April 26, to advertise the Hyde Park Demonstration on the 21st? Helpers should send in their names to the M.P.U., 13, Buckingham Street Strand. Special rally on Saturday afternoon at the office to discuss plans for welcome to Mrs. McKenzie.

NORTH ISLINGTON AND HORNSEY.
Office—19, St. Thomas's Road, Finsbury Park. Hon. Sec.—Miss Bryer, 4s. Tufnell Park.

Now that Easter holidays are over, it is hoped that members will rally to the local work with renewed vigour. We offer a most hearty welcome to those who have recently joined our branch. The paper-selling pitches are not all filled up, and it is most important that this work should be kept well before the public. Miss Henly attends at the office from 8 to 9 every Friday, and will be glad to receive names of volunteers. Helpers will also be heartily welcomed at our outdoor meetings. (See programme).

N.W. LONDON.
Office—215, High Road, Kilburn. Tel., 1183 Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell.

Members will be delighted to learn that Miss Georgina Brackenbury has promised to speak at the next *At Home* in our committee room (see programme). Their unconverted friends will be made specially welcome. The meeting to protest against the White Slave Traffic is fixed for May 1. Speakers: Miss Abadim and Mr. Joseph Clayton. Chair: Mrs. A. J. Webb. It is hoped all our members will help to make this meeting a big success. Please call at the office for handbills and full particulars. If each one will undertake a little work many women who are now outside the movement may be brought into it by means of this meeting.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

April, Friday, 19	... Croydon, Small Public Hall	... Social Gathering. Mrs. Mansel	7.30 to 11 p.m.
" "	... Fulham, Munster Road	Miss Nancy Lightman	8 p.m.
" "	... Harrow Road, Prince of Wales, W.	Miss Gilliat. Chair: Miss Startup	8.15 p.m.
" "	... Surbiton, 4, St. Andrew's Square	Members' At Home. Miss Hughes	7.30 p.m.
Saturday, 20	... Chiswick, Duke's Road	Hostess: Mrs. Head	8 p.m.
" "	... Clapham Junction, Alwal Road	Miss Kinkead	8 p.m.
" "	... Connaught Rooms, Kingsway, W.C.		
" "	... Crouch End, Clock Tower	Reception to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. Tuke. Hostesses: Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Mansel, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Mansell-Moulin, and Lady Constance Lytton	8.30 p.m.
" "	... Hackney, 24, Lower Clapton Road	Miss Bowbrick, R.A. Chair: Miss M. Darton	8 p.m.
" "	... Ilford, Balfour Road	Members' Meeting	5 p.m.
" "	... Islington, Packington Street	Mr. Bowden Smith	8 p.m.
" "	... Kingston, Coronation Stone	Miss F. A. Randall, B.Sc.	8 p.m.
" "	... Lewisham, 2a, Loampit Vale	Miss Gwen Richard. Chair: Mrs. Dacre Fox	11.30 a.m.
" "	... North Finchley, Percy Street, N.	Members' Rally	3-8 p.m.
" "	... Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill, N.	Mrs. Bouvier	8 p.m.
" "	... Barnet, Parish Hall	Miss Coombs. Chair: Miss Hilda Garrett	8 p.m.
" "	... Wimbledon Broadway	Mr. Joseph Clayton. Chair: Mrs. Bradford	8 p.m.
" "	... Woodford Green	Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. Theodore Gugenheim	7 p.m.
Sunday, 21	... Clapham Common	Miss E. Myers. Chair: Miss Rogers	7.30 p.m.
" "	... Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff	Mr. Drummond	3 p.m.
" "	... Wimbledon Common	Miss Phyllis Ayton, Miss Cynthia Mauze	11.30 a.m.
" "	... Hyde Park Demonstration of Joint Societies	Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m.
Monday, 22	... Croydon, 50, High Street	Working Party	8 p.m.
" "	... Kingston, 13, Union Street	Discussion and Reading. Hostess: Mrs. Gilbert Head	3.30 p.m.
" "	... London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W.	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss E. Sharp	8.15 p.m.
Tuesday, 23	... Edgware Road, Nutford Place, W.	Mr. Rev. F. M. Green	3-8 p.m.
" "	... Hampstead, 178, Finchley Road	Chair: Miss Dixon	8 p.m.
" "	... Kensington, 13a, High Street	Working Party	7.30 p.m.
" "	... Palmer's Green, 6, Stowford Road	Meeting for Business People. Speakers: Miss Dolgish, Mr. Joseph Clayton	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 24	... Southfields Station	Fire-side Talks	8 p.m.
" "	... Clapham, 84, Elstree Road	Workers' Meeting	8 p.m.
" "	... Croydon, 50, High Street	Working Party	8 p.m.
" "	... Ilford, 1, Kari of Essex, Manor Park	Meeting for Business People. Speakers: Miss Dolgish, Mr. Joseph Clayton	3 p.m.
" "	... Islington, Market Street	Miss Gibson	8 p.m.
" "	... Kilburn, 215, High Road	Miss Hopkins. Chair: Miss F. A. Randall, B.Sc.	8 p.m.
" "	... Woolwich, 26, Woolwich Common	At Home. Miss G. Brackenbury, Miss Constance Koopman, Miss Florrie Floren, Mrs. Frank Witty	8 p.m.
Thursday, 25	... Paddington, 52, Praed Street, W.	At Home. Mrs. Massey, Miss N. Sargent. Chair: Miss E. Leigh	8 p.m.
" "	... Redditch, "Black Warren"	Dr. Helen Gordon Clark. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	6.30 p.m.
" "	... St. Albans Hall, Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, W.	Reading Party	8.15 p.m.
Friday, 26	... 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.	Miss Douglas Smith, Mrs. Pertwee	4.15 to 6 p.m.
" "	... Fulham, 905, Fulham Road	Speakers' Class. Miss Ross Leo	7.45 p.m.
" "	... Harringay, Burgoine Road	Annual Members' Meeting and Social	8 p.m.
" "	... Raynes Park Station	Miss Richard. Chair: Miss Dodd	8 p.m.
" "	... Wimbledon, 1, St. Mary's Road	Members' Tea	7.30 p.m.

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STREATHAM.
Shop and Office—5, Shrubbery Road. Hon. Org. Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson.

Please remember jumble sale to be held at three o'clock on Monday, 22nd. Tickets to be bought through members only. Contributions to be sent on Friday and Saturday next, April 19 and 20. Helpers in pricing and selling urgently needed. Members please note that there will be a meeting in the shop on Tuesday evening, April 23, at 8 o'clock, to discuss several important matters. A drawing-room meeting will be held on Thursday evening, April 25. All particulars to be had at the shop.

WEST HAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss D. M. Hooper, Old Manor Farm, Squirrels Heath, Essex.

Open-air meetings have been arranged for every other Tuesday evening at the Grove, Stratford, at 8 p.m. Paper-sellers and helpers urgently needed. A large meeting will be held on May 21 at the Workmen's Hall, Stratford. Will members please keep the date clear? More paper-sellers are wanted for the Friday evening paper-selling pitch at Woodgrange Road.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Tel., 1092, P.O. Wimbledon. Hon. Org. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Morton, Surrey.

Mrs. Headlam has kindly offered to give the next members' tea at her house, 1, St. Mary's Road, Wimbledon, on Friday, April 26, at 4.30 p.m. All members are asked to let Mrs. Headlam know if they can come, and whether they wish to bring a friend. Miss Audrey Aimier is due to be released on May 2, when it is hoped to give her an enthusiastic welcome. Full particulars of plans will shortly be posted up in the shop, and appear in next week's issue. The Lecture Hall meetings this season will be held on Thursdays (not Wednesdays) at 8 p.m., and open on May 9 with Mr. Laurence Housman's "Sex War." Mr. B. P. Ellis is thanked for his monthly gift of the *English Review* to the London Library. The meeting on the Common, ad-

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dressed by Mrs. Bouvier, with Mrs. Lamartine Yates in the chair, was a great success. An enormous crowd attended, as usual, and the paper was sold out. Last week's *Boro' News* should be read by all members. It contains an article, "The Women in the Dock," giving the speeches of the Wimbledon prisoners at the Sessions House.

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss H. B. Allan, 79, Woodside, Wimbledon. Tel., 1037 P.O.

Will members support the different open-air meetings in the district? Contributions continue to come in, also offers of help with the paper-selling. More help of both kinds is, however, still needed, also volunteers for house-to-house distribution in Raynes Park and South Wimbledon. New members, please send in your cards as soon as possible, as the entrance fees may be acknowledged. Many thanks to all promising regular subscriptions. Regular paper-sellers are needed at Raynes Park and Southfields stations on the Broadway on Saturday evening. Miss C. L. Green and Dr. Drysdale, M.L.W.S., spoke splendidly to an exceptionally large audience, and papers sold well.

Home Counties.

REXHILL-ON-SEA.
Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen. Hon. Sec.—Miss Stewart.

W.S.P.U. Shop—Marina.

The work has gone ahead splendidly since the opening of new shop. Many visitors have been attracted to it, and many inquiries are made about the movement. A large number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* were sold by members during the Easter holidays. The weekly *At Home* promise to be most successful. Bills advertising these meetings are now ready, and volunteers for distributing them are needed. Tues., April 23.—Bexhill, W.S.P.U. Shop. At Home, 3.30 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office—221, Old Christchurch Road. Hon. Sec.—Miss B. Berry.

A members' meeting is held every Wednesday evening at the office at 8 p.m. Short speeches invited. Gratefully acknowledged.—Mrs. Eyre, 1s.; Miss D. Scobell, 1s.; Miss A. Scobell, 1s. Members and friends will hear with much regret of the death of Miss Elizabeth King, who, ever since she joined our local branch, has done much to help forward our great cause. We offer her friends our sincerest sympathy.

Tues., April 23.—Bournemouth, Stewart's Road. Miss E. M. Priddin, Miss B. Howes, 8 p.m.

BRIGHTON, MOVE, AND DISTRICT.

Office—8, North Street, Quadrant. Tel., 4583 Mat. Organiser—Miss G. Allan.

Many thanks to Suffragette visitors who kindly helped at extra open-air meetings and paper-selling during the Easter holidays. Also to Miss Gwen Richard, who held a meeting every day during Easter week, and Miss C. Myers, who was week-end speaker for 15th and 16th. Miss Turner, 13, Victoria Road, Brighton, hopes London and other members visiting Brighton will call on Sunday between 4 and 6 p.m. to meet Brighton members. Many thanks to those who have helped to work up Miss Georgina Brackenbury's meeting. The Mayor of Lewes has kindly promised to take the chair, and Sir Francis Vane, of Hulton, and Lieut. Cather, R.N., are among the speakers. Members are particularly asked to attend next Friday's members' meeting to discuss the tax-resistance protest meeting connected with sale of goods of one of their numbers. Open-air meetings: Saturday, 3 p.m., Sunday, 11.30 a.m.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bourneville Road West, Folkestone.

Friends are asked to do their utmost to make the series of Hall meetings shortly to be held in Canterbury, Folkestone, and Dover a great success. Will each Canterbury and South Kent member aim at getting ten new regular readers of the paper before the middle of May? Heartily thanks to Miss Strachan, a W.S.P.U. visitor, for selling the paper in Folkestone last Friday. Help of this kind is very welcome.

Mon. April 22.—Folkestone, 23, Limes Road. Drawing-room Meeting. Hostess, Lady Lumb, 4.30 p.m.

EASTBOURNE.

Temporary Headquarters—10, Southfields Road. Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen.

Will members willing to sell *VOTES FOR WOMEN* write to the organiser? Miss Jones has done splendid work in this way, but it is most necessary now the summer season is commencing that more sellers should come forward. Subscriptions are needed towards the new shop. Will all who can help do so, so that work will be well started before June? Gratefully acknowledged.—Miss E. W. Worley, 21 1a.

Wed., April 24.—Eastbourne, Marlborough Tea Rooms. At Home, Mrs. Periwinkle, 4 p.m.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Shop—8, Trinity Street, Hastings.

Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen.

Two splendid outdoor meetings have been held. Miss Billing addressing large and enthusiastic audiences. A large number of papers were sold, and many questions asked. Members gave away "Broken Window" leaflets, which were carefully read by many who had not understood the last protest.

Mon. April 22.—Hastings, 8, Trinity Street. At Home, 4.30 p.m.

NYTHE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Lewis, Dunedin, Seabrook Road.

At a meeting held at Mrs. Wilkes', Sunnyside,

a local Union was formed. Miss Lewis kindly consenting to act as secretary. Members, keep a lookout for place of meeting on May 11; speaker, Mrs. Drummond.

READING AND NEWBURY.

Shop and Office—49, Market Place. Hon. Sec.—Miss O. L. Cobb.

It is earnestly hoped that all members are saving their "jumble" for the sale. Parcels may be sent to the shop, or can be fetched. Will members do their best to make the weekly "At Home" a success by coming regularly themselves, and, if possible, bringing friends? Orders for underclothing, children's garments, aprons, &c., will be most acceptable. The hon. sec. will be glad to receive the names of those willing to speak, or act as literature sellers, &c., at the outdoor meetings in Reading and the neighbourhood now being arranged. Annual subscriptions will be gratefully received.

Tues., April 23.—Weekly Sewing "At Home," 3.30 p.m.

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cather, The Red Cottage, Cavendish Road.

Fri., April 19.—Redhill, Market Hall. The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Eva Moore. Chair, Miss Ayton, 8 a.m.

Sat., April 20.—Dorking, High Street. Poster-Parade, 3 p.m.

Edwards, 10s.; Rev. G. Ramsay, 10s.; returned expenses, 2s. 2d.; Miss Newman, 4s.; Mrs. E. T. Daniell, £1. 10s.; Miss Newman, 4s.; Mrs. E. T. Daniell, £1. 10s.; Mrs. Mason, 6s.; Miss Morgan, 2s. 6d.; Miss K. Staniland, 2s. 7d.; Mrs. Bailey, 2s. 6d.; Collection, 8s. 7d.; Miss Startup's sale, 1s. 7d.; Mrs. Curtis, 1s. 5d.; Rev. Canon Lee, 2s. 6d.; Miss Knox, 1s.; Miss Howell, 2s. 6d.; Miss Evans, 2s. 6d.; the Walters' family, 2s. 2d.; Mrs. Davis-Smith, 10s.; Mrs. Howe, 2s. 6d.; Miss Vining, 6s.; Miss Heppell, 2s. 6d.; Miss Muschamp, 6s.; Mrs. Rogers, 6s.; Miss Platman, 2s.; Miss Clutterbuck, 2s. 7s.; Miss Staniland, 1s.; the Misses Evans and Howell, 1s.; Collection, 1s.; 7d.; Miss Ellis, 1s.; Mon., April 22.—At Home, Victoria Rooms, 3.30, Mrs. Dove-Wilcox.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Organiser—Miss Platman, 25, Castle Street, Hereford.

Members, please support the speakers at the open air meeting to-morrow night at eight. Mrs. Davis will be glad of help with the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Ward meetings will be held in the afternoons, for women only. Canvassers are hardly needed to explain the object of the meetings. Please send all offers of help to the organiser at once. Many thanks to Mrs. Childs for donation of 10s. and offer of drawing-room meeting; to Mrs. Davis for speaking, and to Miss Spender, who made her début as chairwoman in a most able manner. Sat., April 20.—St. Peter's Square. Mrs. Davis, Miss Platman, 8 p.m.

Mon., April 22.—Mitcheldean. At Home, Miss Platman. Hostess: Mrs. Scarance, 3.30 p.m.

EASTERN COUNTIES.

CHELMSFORD.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.—Miss Bartels, Oak Cottage, Park Road.

Members and friends will be delighted to hear that Miss Georgina Brackenbury and the Rev. Claude Hinchliff will address the meeting in the Grand Court Assembly Rooms on Tuesday, April 30, at 8 p.m. Miss Bartels will be in the district from Monday, April 22, and will be glad to supply members with tickets on sale or return for canvassing. Sat., April 27.—Market Place, 8 p.m.

CLACTON-ON-SEA.

Shop—47, Rosemary Road.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Lilley, Holland House. A most successful drawing-room meeting was held by Mrs. Lilley at "Holland House" on Saturday afternoon, April 13. Speaker, Dr. Helen Hanson. Recitation, Miss Betty Lilley. Chair, Mrs. Arthur Sykes. Great interest was aroused by Dr. Helen Hanson's charming speech, and a resolution calling upon the Government to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill was carried unanimously.

FELIXSTOWE.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Lowry, Woodcroft, Bath Road.

Thanks to Mrs. Collins, Mrs. Farwig, and Mrs. Dexter for kindly arranging a meeting at the Oddfellows' Hall. Miss Isabel Seymour greatly interested her audiences. Miss Cowles was in the chair. Members are earnestly requested to make a special effort to sell as many tickets as possible for Mrs. Mansel's meeting.

Wed., April 24.—Sorrento, Leopold Road, Work Party, 5 p.m.

Thurs., April 25.—Hamilton Hall, Mrs. Mansel, 8 p.m. Recitations by Miss Winifred Roughton.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop—Dial Lane, Ipswich. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.

Shop Sec.—Miss King. An enthusiastic meeting was held last Thursday evening at the Co-operative Hall. The audience keenly followed the speeches of Lady Scott and the Rev. Claude Hinchliff, and the resolution protesting against the vindictive sentences passed on Suffragist prisoners was carried unanimously. Miss Winifred Roughton's recitation was greatly appreciated. Will members please let the organiser know as soon as possible what help they can give with the stall which will be taken for the Women's Festival of Work, and will members in villages near Ipswich kindly let her know what help they can give in working up open-air meetings?

North-Eastern Counties.

HALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.

Organiser—Miss Annie Williams, 1, Fitzwilliam Street West, Huddersfield.

The organiser would be glad to have from members the names and addresses of sympathisers in the Colne Valley, Sowerby Bridge, Elland, and the districts round. She hopes to hold open-air meetings in these places during the summer. At present all must concentrate on making Mrs. Bradford's meetings on May 8 and 9 a great success. All remaining Self-Denial cards should be sent in at once. Mon., April 22.—Organiser's At Home, 24 p.m.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.

At the invitation of the Bramley Socialist League, several members took part last Sunday in an informal discussion on the subject, "will the methods of the W.S.P.U. retard the progress of the cause?" The discussion was very good. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well, and a return visit was asked for and promised.

Wed., April 24.—Culton, near Leeds, Harold Hall. Miss G. Brackenbury, Dr. Helena Jones, 7 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street. Tel. No. 4591 Central.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth.

Members will be delighted to hear that Mrs. Baines will speak at the demonstration on May 11. The procession will form up in the Haymarket, 2.30. The South Shields demonstration has been fixed for Tuesday, May 7, not 21. All members must make an effort to take part in these demonstrations, and do all they can to ensure their success. The open-air meetings are most successful. The papers sell well, but more sellers are badly needed, and also speakers who will volunteer to chair at meetings. There will be no meeting in the office on April 24. All members are asked to advertise the meeting in Crosby's Cafe on Thursday, April 25. All further Self-Denial contributions should be sent without delay.

Fri., April 19.—Gateshead Station, Shop, 12.30 p.m. North Shields, Borough Road, 7.30 p.m.

Sat., April 20.—Newcastle, Haymarket, 7.30 p.m. Mon., April 22.—Jarrow, Union Street, 7.30 p.m. Hebburn Colliery, 3.30 p.m.

Tues., April 23.—South Shields, Market Place, 7.30 p.m.

Wed., April 24.—Church League Service, Cathedral, 7.30 p.m.

Thurs., April 25.—Sunderland, Ropery, 12.30 p.m. Hendon Street, 7.30 p.m. Newcastle, Crosby's Cafe, Miss Mabel Atkinson, M.A.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Shop—26, Chapel Walk, Sheffield.

Hon. Sec.—Miss F. E. Coxhill. Will Stewards be at Endcliffe Hall at 7 o'clock on Friday and Saturday? They are asked to wear some W.S.P.U. badge or the colours.

Fri., April 19, and Sat., April 20.—Endcliffe Hall, 8 p.m. How the Vote was Won. Speakers: Friday, Mr. J. Clayton; Saturday, Miss Key-Jones.

YORK.

Office—Colby Chambers. Telephones, 662 Coppergate.

Organiser—Miss V. Key-Jones. The office is re-opened after Easter holidays. Help is needed in organising meetings at Selby, York, and Malton for Miss Georgina Brackenbury, at open-air meetings, and for paper-selling. Members and

sympathisers please send in jumble sale parcels to the office at once. Every member please call at the office and offer help, however small.

Wed., April 24.—Office. Speakers' Class, Mr. S. Key-Jones, 8 p.m.

North-Western Counties.

BIRKENHEAD BRANCH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. C. Abraham, 9, Kingsmead Road.

A very successful open air meeting was held on Saturday, April 15, when Miss Brook and Miss Mabel Abraham spoke. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well. It is hoped to hold another on Saturday, 27th inst.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. Margaret E. Parfington, 118, Dorset Street, Houghligh, Bolton.

Members, please make a special effort to attend the meeting on April 23 (see below), as there are several matters of importance to discuss. A jumble sale will be held shortly, and Mrs. Coope, The Heatherlands, Heaton, will gladly receive parcels.

Tues., April 23.—Bolton, Talbot's Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mrs. Jessie Crompton.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—11, Renshaw Street. Tel. 3761 Royal.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Abraham.

On May 4, Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "How the Vote was Won," will be acted. Tickets to be had from the office, price 1s. A few reserved seats, 2s.

MANCHESTER.

Office—32, King Street West.

Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Williamson, B.A.

Treasurer—Mrs. Ratcliffe.

Members are urged to attend the weekly meetings at the office, at which all propaganda work is arranged. Friends please send parcels for the jumble sale to the office any day this week between 2 and 8 p.m., with the articles priced. Will all members come to help on the 27th? In the evening an excellent entertainment will be given, and it is hoped that a considerable addition will be made to our funds and our membership. Weekly meetings, 7 to 10. Jumble sale April 27.

Scotland.

ABERDEEN.

Organiser—Miss Helen Jollie.

Shop—7, Bon Accord Street.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Emily Fussell.

Many thanks to Miss Janet Duff for having successfully carried on the work during the absence of the organiser, and to the members who have stuck to their posts. Last Friday the organiser held a very successful meeting at Woodside, with Mrs. Webster in the chair. There is a great demand for the paper. Members who have returned from their holiday are asked to resume work as soon as possible. New workers, especially speakers, will be welcome.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Elocution Mistress—Miss Ross Lee.

45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.

Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

The public classes will be resumed on Friday, April 26, in Room 72, at 4, Clement's Inn, at 7.45, when it is hoped that as many members as possible will attend. The subject will be the latest developments in the movement. Miss Lee's private classes will take place every Saturday afternoon (commencing April 27), at 4 p.m., at 41, Norfolk Square, W., by kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton. It must be clearly understood that both these classes are open to members of the W.S.P.U. only. All communications with regard to the public classes should be addressed to Miss Hale, and those about the private ones to Miss Lee, and a stamped and addressed envelope should be enclosed for a reply.

1. Members of the W.S.P.U. only are eligible.

2. The Class is held at 4, Clement's Inn, Room 72, every Friday, at 7.45 p.m. sharp.

3. Entrance fee, 3d. weekly; proceeds to be used for the purchase of educational literature.

4. The library books are only to be kept one week, and must be returned or sent by post before the next class.

5. Members are limited to ten classes, and it must be clearly understood that no one shall be admitted to these classes except intending speakers.

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Cynthia Maguire, 39, Priory Road, N.W.; Miss P. A. Ayrton, 62, Edith Road, W. Kensington.

Plans are being made for holding a series of special meetings for women engaged in the clerical and secretarial professions. Particulars will be sent on application. Help in advertising these or offers of offices or drawing-rooms where meetings can be held will be much appreciated.

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 121. President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.

Organising Secretary—Miss G. M. Conlon.

The Actresses' Franchise League held its monthly At Home last Friday at the Criterion, when Miss Winifred Mayo acted as hostess. Miss Maud Hoffman, who presided, made a thoughtful and most interesting speech. Lady Scott greatly interested her audience with an account of the working of Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand and Australia. Mrs. Madeline Lucette Ryley, in a witty and delightful speech, pointed out the undesirability of making distinction of sex. Mr. Philip Snowden spoke on the political situation, and advised women to put their principles before their party, and urge this question before all others.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement:

Office—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone—City 6673.

Office Hours: 10 to 6. Sat., 10 to 2 p.m.

Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Duval.

The committee's thanks are due to the speakers who at such short notice gathered in Hyde Park on Sunday and addressed the large crowd, and also to all those who took part in the Aylesbury demonstration on April 15. A strong appeal is made for volunteers for a Picket Parade, which is to advertise the demonstration of the Joint Suffrage Societies, to be held in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 21. Members of all Suffrage Societies will be welcome. Assemble at the above office between 2.30 and 3 p.m. on Saturday, April 20. Members and friends of our Union are cordially invited to attend the Aylesbury demonstration on April 21. Members of our Union are cordially invited to bring unconverted friends. It will be held at the large Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Tuesday, April 23, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Lillian Yates, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. Cameron Swan, and others. Miss Winifred Mayo will recite. Admission free. More donations for the Self-Denial Fund will be most welcome.

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tors. The procession was led by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, and included contingents from the League and the W.S.P.U., besides delegates from the M.P.U. and Men's Society for Women's Rights. The route was arranged to pass within sight of the "Reformatory" wing of the prison, where the Suffrage prisoners are at present. The "Women's March" was played several times, and rousing cheers greeted the appearance of towels and handkerchiefs from the high windows. In the evening, Aylesbury Market Square was filled with a dense crowd of several thousands, of whom the majority were anxious to hear the speakers. The organiser was able to stop all those members and officials of various societies who came to the aid of the Tax Resistance League on this occasion. Mrs. Hamilton's sale at Wendover will be reported in next issue.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOC. FOR W.S.

President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Office—8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge (opposite Tube Station).

At the last At Home before the Easter holidays

Mrs. Sibley spoke on "Traffic in Girls and Rescue Work," and Mr. John Cameron Grant on "Man, Woman, and the Machine," and the room was crowded to overflowing. Next Tuesday Miss Mina Sheppard will speak on "The Ignorant Vote," and Mrs. Hartley will be hostess. These meetings are free to all, and speeches begin at 4.15. Successful meetings have recently been held at Ashford and at Rye and Dulwich. The Society is bringing out a Self-Denial Pledge, which all Suffragists are asked to sign, irrespective of the society to which they belong. Slips will then be sent to them to enclose with paid bills, &c. Contributions towards the expenses of this scheme are invited from those who approve of it.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Beatrice Gadsby, B.A. Hon. Treas.—Miss Monica Whately. Office—51, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W.

The office is open as usual from 5 to 6 on Tuesdays and Fridays, or by appointment. We have a splendid pamphlet on sale, price 1d., by Mr. Clayton, also leaflets, "Why Do We Want a Catholic Suffrage Society" and "The Opinions of Two Cardinals on Woman Suffrage." They may be had by writing to Miss O'Connor, the literature secretary, at the office.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR W.S.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word.
(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

(Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.)

GIVEN FOR SELF-DENIAL FUND.

We are anxious to sell the following articles in order to add the amount realised to the total of the Self-Denial Fund:

Locket, gold and blue enamel, set pearl and diamond heart	£1 1 0
Ring, set one ruby and two emeralds	0 15 0
Ring, set pearls and sapphires	0 10 6
Gold bangle	1 1 0
Gold bangle	0 15 0
Gold curb bracelet	0 15 0
String of amber beads	1 1 0
Gold scarf pin, set turquoise	0 10 6
Gold bracelet, set opals and garnets	2 2 0
Coiffion plate	1 1 0
Pur, pointed fox, length, including tails, 24 yrs	1 1 0
25 piece (Edward VII)	0 15 0
Two heavy Indian silver rings (copy of ancient Indian jewellery)	0 10 6
Offers for any of the above would be considered.	Offers asked
Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.	

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A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft).—Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 25 bedrooms; billiard room; bathroom. Extensive grounds. Tennis. Conveyances. Vegetarians accommodated. Suffragettes welcomed. Board-residence, 3ls. 6d. to 35s. Photos, prospectus, Chas. Hallam, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

APPLE-BLOSSOM TIME! Lady (Suffragist) would receive Guests of quiet tastes in her charming country cottage. Would suit two friends.—Box 318, Votes for WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

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BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms, 25s. to 30s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

COMFORTABLE bed-sitting-room in nice house and street. Also bed and breakfast, from 7s. Bright, comfortable home. Vegetarian if required.—38, Rostrevor Road, Fulham.

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LADIES received as guests in pretty country house on moderate terms. Cookery lessons given by Diplomée if required.—St. Joseph's, The Oaks, Loughborough.

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SUFFRAGETTES, Spend your Holidays with Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria Road, Brighton. Nat. Tel., 1702. Rest, Cures, Home-made bread and other comforts. Moderate terms.

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